

# THE TIMES

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## Labour priority is state spending

# Kinnock throws down gauntlet over taxation

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

NEIL Kinnock yesterday challenged the government to make taxation and public spending the battleground of the next election. The choice, he said, was between the Conservatives, who would cut taxes at the expense of public services, and Labour, who would put pensioners and children first.

Meanwhile, Chris Patten, the Conservative party chairman, refused to rule out a June election as he arrived yesterday for the Scottish party conference in Perth. He insisted that the government would have been returned to power with a majority of about 20 seats on the strength of last week's local elections.

The town hall contests, in which the Tories lost nearly 900 seats, had been interpreted as putting an end to a June poll. However, Tory MPs will see the more optimistic gloss now being put on the results as a hint that, if the Conservatives hold Monmouth comfortably in next

week's by-election, John Major could yet be tempted to seek a fresh mandate.

The party battle lines for the election were set out when Norman Lamont, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yesterday reinforced the Tory pledge to reduce the standard rate from 25p to 20p in the pound, although he suggested that it might take at least four or five years. "We still believe that the burden of taxation in this country is too high when you take income tax and National Insurance together, taking nearly a third of the average person's income," he said.

Conservative leaders believe that Labour's plans to remove the ceiling on National Insurance contributions above £23,000 and to push the top rate of tax up from 40 per cent to 50 per cent, are a hostage to electoral fortune. However, Mr Kinnock, referring to opinion polls that say the public prefers improved public services to tax cuts by a majority of 3:1, confirmed that Labour would not cut taxes. He said that they would be raised for higher earners to pay for increased child benefit and old age pensions.

Mr Kinnock said in a lecture in London, organised by the Community Care Journal, that no government could improve public services and make tax cuts. Reducing the standard rate of tax to 20p over the lifetime of a parliament would mean a fall in revenue of £30 billion. "The inconsistency is large and obvious. A government which pledges tax reductions must say just what essential services are to be cut to pay for them."

The Labour leader, who said that Britain was spending less on education than in 1980 and less on health than any country in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development except Greece, accused the Tories of "a philosophy of withdrawal". He said that the poorest 20 per cent were poorer in real terms than 12 years ago.

"Over the lifetime of a parliament," he said, "maintaining the real value of tax allowances and keeping tax rates where they are, an average growth rate in the economy of 2.5 per cent will

generate £20 billion of revenue to the exchequer. There is no question in my mind, or indeed, in the public's mind, that available revenues should be used for health and other essential services."

He promised that "the market system in health care can and will be abolished", and he the "full funding of pay awards will ensure that hospitals are not plunged into the annual cycle of deficit, crisis management, ward closures and cuts in patient care that have become so familiar."

John Smith, the shadow chancellor, pledged last night that a Labour government would reinforce the principle of a politically neutral civil service. He referred to fears that the civil service was becoming politicised because one party had been in power for so long and backed the setting up of ministerial policy units made of up special political advisers, who were temporary civil servants, and formal career civil servants.

Mr Patten rushed out a document yesterday contesting Labour's claims, and said that the Tories had delivered lower tax rates and improved public services. From 1979 to 1991 the average earnings of a family with two children, in which one adult worked, had risen 36.7 per cent in real terms. Revenue spending on health had increased by more than 50 per cent in real terms, and capital spending had gone up by 62 per cent.

He quoted Harold Wilson in 1964 and James Callaghan in 1966 as promising that no general increases would be made in taxation. However, his document states that from 1964-70 the tax burden increased by £3 billion, (the equivalent of £50 today) for the average family.

Francis Maude, the financial secretary to the Treasury, also attacked Labour's figures. He said that Labour governments did not achieve 2.5 per cent growth, the sort of growth we had in the 1980s. Mr Kinnock said last night that growth under the Thatcher governments had averaged only 1.75 per cent.

Devolution rejected, page 8  
Patten election hint, page 9  
Leading article, page 19

## Clarke in U-turn over school tests

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

THE government took another U-turn over its education reforms last night. Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, announced he was scrapping next year's compulsory tests for 14-year-olds as a first step in improving the national curriculum.

Mr Clarke has told his advisers to reconsider tests in English, science, mathematics and technology. Earlier this year he described them as "nonsense" because they were too complicated. The new tests will become statutory from 1993.

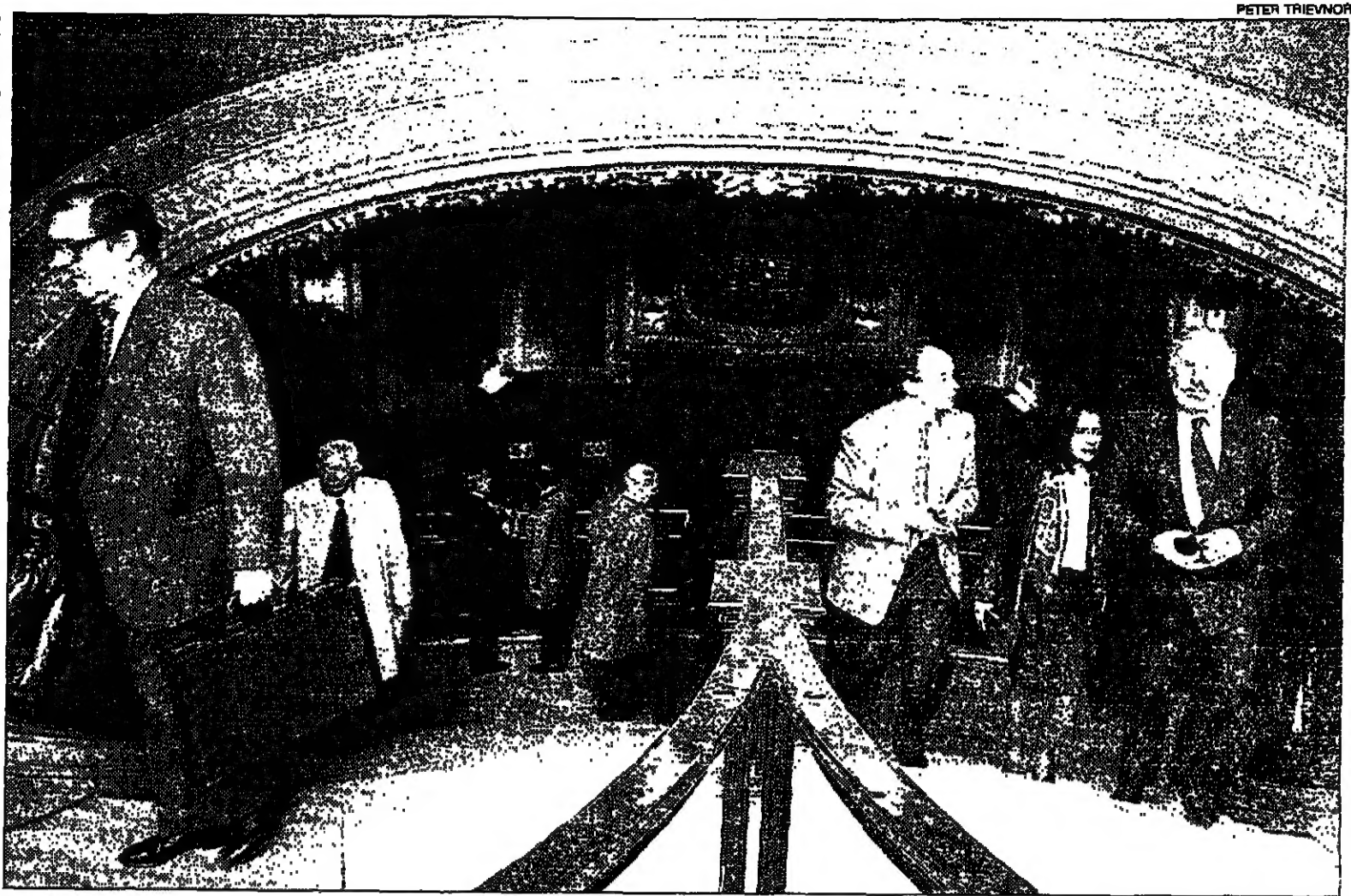
A cut was also announced in the number of attainment targets for five to 16-year-olds

in science and mathematics, lowering them from 17 and 14 to five so that they were in line with other main subjects.

Mr Clarke said: "The introduction of the national curriculum is one of the biggest changes that has ever taken place. It is not surprising that we should have learnt from our first steps in making it a reality. I am making these changes in response to concern about the present number of attainment targets."

The National Union of Teachers said the chaotic introduction of the curriculum was causing turmoil.

Letters, page 19



Facing the future: some of the Lloyd's members involved in the Feltrim syndicates arriving for the meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, yesterday

## Liability looms for the names

Losses of up to £200,000 each face 1,400 Lloyd's members under the insurance brokers' rules. Matthew Bond reports

The order had clearly gone out — limousines would not be worn. Indeed, most of the more ostentatious trappings of wealth were conspicuous by their absence as 1,400 Lloyd's "names" gathered at Westminster's Central Hall. Such luxuries would hardly have been appropriate.

Only a year or so ago the individuals making up this most cosmopolitan of gatherings would have had but one thing in common — money and lots of it. Money, after all, was just about the only qualification needed to join one of the City's most exclusive clubs. Membership of Lloyd's of London, the world's biggest insurance market, demanded proven personal wealth of £100,000, recently raised to £250,000.

Yesterday, however, it was an acute lack of funds that brought them together. Each person in the packed hall was facing losses of between £100,000 and £200,000.

These huge losses stem from their investment in three syndicates run by one Lloyd's managing agent, Feltrim. Three syndicates 540, 542 and 547, have between them run up losses of £320 million, after specialising in a form of particularly risky insurance business known as excess loss. These losses now have to be met by the names, spelling potential ruin for many. Under Lloyd's rule of unlimited liability, names are liable for all their losses.

But the Feltrim names are determined not to go down without a fight. At the first full meeting of The Feltrim Names Association, the acting chairman Colin Hook committed the association to seeking full redress.

Rates war, page 25

## Bush delays with allies poised to enter Dahuk

From MARTIN FLETCHER in WASHINGTON AND MICHAEL THEODOULOU in NICOSIA

WITH allied commanders in northern Iraq impatiently awaiting the command from Washington to move into the provincial capital of Dahuk, where their forces have been poised for several days, President Bush said yesterday that American forces "must not get sucked into a quagmire".

As the president spoke, there were reports that two US warplanes had been fired on in separate incidents in the skies above northern Iraq. "Well, we're looking into that. Fortunately it didn't hit anybody, and I gather from the Pentagon they're not particularly concerned, but we have to look into that," the president said at a White House news conference.

Mr Bush today meets Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the UN secretary-general, to seek assurances that the UN will take over responsibility for the refugees and their security in northern Iraq.

According to the Pentagon, there are still 335,000 Kurds in the mountains on the Iraqi-Turkish border, many from Dahuk which lies 40 miles south of the border and had a population of more than 200,000 before the exodus. Refugee leaders have told the allied commanders that securing Dahuk is the key to persuading them to leave the mountains in large numbers.

The Pentagon said allied forces were within four miles

of Dahuk and some Iraqi troops had already left the city. They had not been told to leave "but we made it abundantly clear that we think that if they fall back the refugees are going to feel more secure," a spokesman said. American warplanes have "buzzed" Iraqi forces in and around Dahuk to exert pressure on them.

The occupation of Dahuk is seen as essential if the allied safe havens plan is to work. Many of the Kurds that fled to Turkey are from the city and their return to it would save the allies building huge tent cities to accommodate them.

But while Iraqi forces have left smaller towns like Zakho with no more than a tense stand-off, they appear far more reluctant to withdraw from Dahuk, an important provincial capital. Many Iraqi forces have left the city since US forces first arrived on its outskirts last Sunday, but several hundred remained behind and appeared to be digging in yesterday.

They were seen setting up sand bag positions with machine guns about two miles from the American front line. Allied field commanders expect the order to move into Dahuk to come within a day or two.

US troops have been using psychological warfare, or "psy-ops" against the Iraqis in Dahuk since Monday night.

## Nationwide cuts lending rate by 0.7%

THE Nationwide building society announced a surprise 0.7 per cent cut in its base mortgage rate to 12.25 per cent yesterday. The reduction is from Saturday for new borrowers and from July 1 for existing borrowers (Lindsay Cook writes).

The reduction will mean a cut of £26.50 a month for a borrower with a £60,000 repayment mortgage and £30.62 on endowment loans of the same size.

## Rolls-Royce cuts 3,000 more jobs

MORE than 10,000 jobs will be lost this year as a result of cutbacks by the British Coal Corporation and Rolls-Royce, the aero-engine manufacturer.

Rolls-Royce is to cut 3,000 jobs this year, in addition to the 3,000 voluntary redundancies called for in January.

By the end of this year its workforce will be reduced by 17.6 per cent to 28,000.

Full details, page 25

## Of mice and sex changes

By NIGEL HAWKES, SCIENCE EDITOR

BY INSERTING a single gene into the embryo of a mouse, British scientists have changed its sex from female to male.

The male mouse that emerged was normal in size, weight and sexual characteristics. When caged with two female mice, he behaved as mice are expected to, mating four times in six days. He produced no offspring, however, indicating that he was sterile. The experiment is proof that maleness is conferred by a single gene, first identified last year. When the gene is absent, an embryo will develop as a female; when present, as a male.

The work, reported in this week's issue of *Nature*, was carried out by scientists at the Medical Research Council's National Institute for Medical Research at Mill Hill, north-west London, and the Human Molecular Genetics Laboratory. Continued on page 24, col 3

Science & technology, page 33

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### TODAY IN THE TIMES

#### BOOKS

Victoria Glendinning on Bernice Rubens, "whose head and heart are engaged" in her new novel of tragedy and farce Page 16

#### FILM

David Robinson on the Cannes that was and — on the day that the 1991 festival begins — wonders what happened to it Page 17

#### SCIENCE

Nigel Hawkes reports on a possible green answer to a greens problem — increasing plant growth by natural means Page 33

#### INSIDE

#### Pilot fined

The pilot of the British Airways jumbo jet that narrowly missed buildings near Heathrow airport as it came in to land, was yesterday found guilty of negligence and fined £2,000. Page 2

#### Gulf promise

General Sir Peter de la Billière told a Commons defence committee that there would be "full disclosure" of the investigation into the deaths of nine British soldiers killed by an American A10 during the Gulf war. Page 5

#### MCC approval

The MCC has given permission for a revolutionary double-faced bat to be used in first-class cricket following successful tests in the nets at Lord's. Page 40

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## Why Mrs Thatcher can't pick up the pieces

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A PORTRAIT emerged yesterday of Margaret Thatcher as a lost figure, still bitter at the manner of her removal from Downing Street, and left without any focus to her life.

Five times she told an interviewer for *Vanity Fair* magazine: "I have never been defeated by the people." She could have won a fourth general election judged on her overall record, the former prime minister predicted. "We had gone through difficult times before. You don't run scared about by-elections mid-term. But had I gone on we would have a fairly openly split party, and it would not have been easy to get some things done."

She also appealed for better treatment of future prime ministers when they left office than she had suffered. Future prime ministers should not be "bun-

dled" out, as she was, forced to pack up and vacate Downing Street and Chequers within four days. "I will suggest that no future prime minister has to do that, because prime ministers have a dignity as ex-prime ministers by virtue of their prime ministerial office."

In the most personal insight of her life since her removal from office less than six months ago she disclosed in the interview: "I have never been defeated in an election. I have never been defeated in a vote of confidence in parliament, so I do not know what that would be like. I did still have my choice so I decided to do the best thing for my party for the future. . . . and I knew I'd still have a good bit of influence."

On her future, Mrs Thatcher said that her husband, Sir Denis, had said he thought it would be better if she did not stand again. "It relieved my mind in a

way because that was the decision I came to." After leaving No 10, she said the pattern of her life was fractured. "It is like throwing a pane of glass with a complicated map upon it on the floor. All habits and thoughts and actions went with it, and the staff that went with it. You threw it on the floor and it shattered. You couldn't pick up those pieces. You have to create a new pane of glass — we are building up new habits. We went down to the House of Commons for preparations for questions at 2 o'clock. Questions at the House were on Tuesdays and Thursdays, so on Mondays and Wednesdays we saw foreign statesmen. There were a certain number of overseas events — the Economic Summit, two European Councils. All of this structure happened. You geared your clothes-buying to external visits and your conferences. You geared

Continued on page 24, col 4







Living history: the Regency splendour of Polesden Lacey, near Dorking, Surrey, and a 1914 Rolls-Royce Alpine Eagle form an impressive setting for the Young National Trust's Theatre's new production, *A Land Fit for Heroes?* The title was inspired by Lloyd George's pledge to reform Britain. An innovative programme combines performance and participation scenes with children to give them a greater understanding of 1920s life. The production goes on tour this week and will be seen by more than 10,000 pupils. First in line were appropriately dressed children from St Mary's Roman Catholic primary school, Gillingham, Kent

## Deans see market forces as threat to teaching hospitals

By JILL SHERMAN, SOCIAL SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

MEDICAL and dental education and research is under serious threat because of health service reforms, the Universities Funding Council said yesterday.

A report from the council's medical committee says that the introduction of market forces in the health service could threaten the viability of teaching hospitals in cities throughout Britain. To coincide with the report the committee of university vice chancellors and principals has written to Kenneth Clarke, the

education secretary, asking for assurances that the reforms will not jeopardise the universities' ability to provide medical teaching.

Bed closures in Manchester, London and Newcastle upon Tyne are threatening teaching recognition because medical students have too few patients to study. Students at Manchester Royal Infirmary, where 40 to 80 beds have been closed in the last three months, are being taken by bus to other hospitals 10 miles away to gain appropriate experi-

ence. St Mary's Hospital in central London now has too few beds to allow students to follow two patients a week, the university's requirement.

The reforms, which may discourage referrals to high-spending teaching hospitals, will make matters even worse, the committee says. It points out that although health authorities have been asked not to change referral patterns this year, the picture could change dramatically next year. "The medical committee is extremely concerned about

the likely consequences for a number of teaching hospitals and their medical schools after the NHS standard year ends in April 1992."

Deans of medical schools are pressing the government to intervene rather than letting market forces take over. One option would be to revise plans to allocate money per capita, which favours the provinces, to take into account higher inner-city costs combined with the advanced medical technology associated with teaching.

Although teaching hospitals do attract some extra central money, the committee fears that this teaching and research increment could be used to help to reduce teaching hospital contract prices rather than funding specific services. Teaching hospitals in large conurbations would only be able to survive by attracting a large number of contracts for treating patients from other health authorities, says the report.

In some areas teaching hospitals would depend on more than 65 per cent of their workload from areas outside the local health authority, the report says. "Some teaching hospitals will need to contract with 60 or 70 health districts to cover the current workload. The complexity of this task is daunting."

The committee says that the reforms could have a particularly detrimental impact on undergraduate teaching, which needs a broad mix of patients with relatively common disorders.

Research into these disorders could also be threatened if teaching hospitals are forced to become more specialised in order to remain financially viable, it says.



## Dancing back to new life

NINE months after being declared clinically dead, Bettina Beechgaard, an aspiring dancer, takes to the stage again. Her leg was broken in nine places and she had a 12in head injury after a car accident.

Bettina, aged 20, a student dancer from West Byfleet, Surrey, was also bruised from head to foot. Yesterday, however, she demonstrated how successfully she had triumphed over adversity. She said she is almost back to full dance fitness.

When the accident happened last year, two doctors and a nurse happened to be passing. Bettina was given heart massage and resuscitation by experts.

She said yesterday: "I was determined to walk again, although doctors were sceptical that I would ever dance professionally once more."

## Call for tougher action against drug gang profits

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

THE laws on enforcing the confiscation of drug traffickers' assets must be made tougher because millions of pounds are going unrecovered, according to the report of a Home Office working party published yesterday.

Only £1.1 million from confiscation orders totalling £7.9 million was recovered in 1989-90 the report shows. Customs sources estimated yesterday that their cases have yielded only £2.43 million since the act came into force in 1987 although confiscation orders worth over £17 million have been made in the past four years. Part of the problem is the time taken by appeals and the sale of proceeds.

The report, by senior police and Customs investigators and officials, also underlines other reasons why the Drug Trafficking Offences Act has not had the effect the government forecast.

The working party makes 15 recommendations including a change in the basis of proof required to show whether assets have come from drug proceeds. The report says that in future courts should apply the civil standard of proof and make decisions on the basis of the balance of probabilities rather than beyond reasonable doubt.

Welcoming the report yesterday John Patten, the Home Office minister of state, said the government wanted to make sure the legislation worked well.

Courts should also apply the

act's requirement that the onus is on the convicted defendant to prove that assets are not from drugs rather than require the prosecution to show that they are.

The report wants courts to be able to pass sentence before making a confiscation order. This would mean that a court would not have to wait months for assets to be declared and could sentence with the case fresh in the judge's mind.

The working party also wants it made clear that a prison sentence does not wipe out the debt so that a trafficker cannot count on coming out to a hidden nest egg which is untouchable.

Although police can get a court order to freeze assets when they make arrests the courts therefore become the main arena for deciding confiscation. Magistrates courts often do not do enough to implement an order passed down from a crown court for action. The report calls on crown courts to suggest enforcement methods such as the orders used in debt collection cases.

Welcoming the report yesterday John Patten, the Home Office minister of state, said the government wanted to make sure the legislation worked well.

## Ulster talks in no-man's land

By TIM JONES

THE first true inter-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland for 16 years failed to begin as planned yesterday while the participants argued over the venue for the next stage, which will involve the government of the Irish Republic.

Old rivalries and suspicions emerged as various obstacles were raised to holding the talks in Dublin or Belfast.

Peter Brooke, Northern Ireland secretary, had hoped yesterday would have heralded an historic plenary session with leaders of the four main constitutional parties. Instead, he became bogged down in bilateral talks. Suggestions for the venue are understood to have included Strasbourg, Brussels, or Armagh, ecclesiastical capital of the troubled land.

Sources close to the Northern Ireland office suggested most of the opposition was being mounted by the Democratic Unionist Party, led by the Reverend Ian Paisley.

In common with the Ulster Unionists, they want stage two to be held in London to demonstrate their mistrust of Dublin while it lays constitutional claim over the province.

Gerard Collins, the Republic's Foreign Minister, has even said he would be prepared to go to Ballymena, Orange citadel of Mr Paisley's north Antrim constituency. That is as unlikely as the suggestion that the 16 politicians and secretarial staff should hold discussions on the Isle of Man.

## Missing link

The linking of the first rail tunnel between France and Britain under the English Channel will take place on May 14, the Transmanche Link consortium building the Channel Tunnel said yesterday. The burrowing machines tunnelling towards each other from Sangatte, in France, and Folkestone, are separated by only 765ft. The second rail tunnel is scheduled for completion next month.

## Fumes blamed

Two women found dead in a caravan at Bradworthy, North Devon, had been poisoned by carbon monoxide fumes, police said yesterday. The fumes were believed to have come from a bottled-gas water heater. An inquest yesterday on Sharon Farnell, aged 19, and Joanne Babb, aged 20, both from Kilkhampton, Cornwall, was adjourned. They were found on Saturday.

## Science prizes

The winners of the Science Book Prizes for 1991, worth a total of £20,000, were announced yesterday. The category for general readership was won by Stephen Jay Gould, for *Wonderful Life* (Hutchinson Radius), while the prize for books for a younger readership was shared by *Cells are Us* and *Cell Wars*, written jointly by Fran Balkwill and Mic Ralph (William Collins).

Science Book Prizes 1991: General Readership: Stephen Jay Gould, £10,000; Younger Readership: Fran Balkwill and Mic Ralph, £10,000. Winners of the 1990 prizes: General Readership: C. P. Snow, £10,000; Younger Readership: C. P. Snow, £10,000. Winners of the 1989 prizes: General Readership: C. P. Snow, £10,000; Younger Readership: C. P. Snow, £10,000.

## Waldegrave justifies changes

By OUR SOCIAL SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

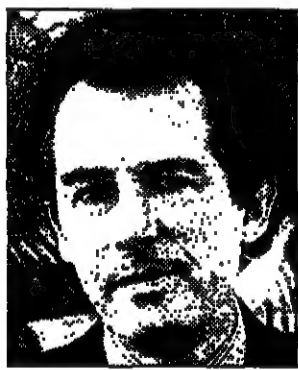
WILLIAM Waldegrave, the health secretary, will today give a robust defence of the health service reforms to health ministers from all over the world.

Addressing the World Health Assembly in Geneva he will also justify his decision not to intervene over big jobs at health service trusts by emphasising that health managers should be given the same autonomy to get on with their job as clinicians.

"Politicians, parliaments and health committees should no more try to intervene directly with the professional management of hospitals than they would with the clinical judgment of doctors," he will say this morning. "We have quite frankly, over politicised our health service in Britain, with the result that we have often had weak management, too much union power, medical and other, and a very inflexible allocation of money. You will guess that in seeking to change some of these things, I am having, in the

short term, an interesting time."

Although the NHS was an "exceedingly good system" it had weak techniques for matching spending to needs and in helping the planners know how to get the most of what they needed for the money they had. "Though it has developed some way along the route to the expansion of primary health care for which WHO campaigns, it has in the



Waldegrave: plans robust defence of NHS reforms

past provided no clear way in which public health planners could allocate their money across the full range of services."

The new system would maintain the free, comprehensive, non-insurance based provision of health care and allow public health strategists to shift resources into areas such as prevention and primary care. "We are requiring health providers to compete to show how much health care they can make available at the necessary standard for the money that is available and the system will reward those who can do most."

Stopping crime in health service hospitals could save £600 million a year, the cost of 30,000 jobs, health managers were told yesterday. Sheila Carmichael, of Crime Concern Consultancy, told a conference organised by the National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts that many hospitals were a security nightmare with their numerous entrances and exits.

## Church group aims to fight poverty

By RUTH GLEDHILL, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

A NATIONAL campaign on poverty was launched yesterday by the Christian-based Church Action on Poverty. Church groups are being asked to hold meetings and tackle their MPs on poverty issues.

According to *Breaking the Chains of Poverty*, a report published to launch the campaign, more than ten million people have "unacceptably low incomes". Church Action on Poverty, funded by dioceses and churches, claims public services are falling apart and that the number of unemployed may soon exceed three million.

The group, which is organising a national rally in London in September, is calling for a minimum income, a permanent reduction in homelessness, more training and employment opportunities and redistribution of wealth. Hilary Russell, national chairman, denied it was a political agenda.

The report says: "The number of people in Britain who have incomes less than half the average grew steadily in the early 1980s and dramatically between 1985 and 1987." In 1990, the half average income for a single person was £52 a week, it says. The report cites the case of Mark and Mary, with two children under

five and on income support. After paying £30 rent, their poll tax and fuel bills, they have about £60 a week to feed, clothe and meet the needs of the family. "While the average increase in real income between 1979-87 was 23 per cent, for the poorest 10 per cent it was only 0.1 per cent."

Leading article, page 15

## Oil companies 'ignored safety'

By KERRY GILL

TWO oil companies caused the death of a North Sea radio operator by disregarding safety measures, an enquiry into the Ocean Odyssey drilling rig disaster was told yesterday.

Aidan O'Neill, for the family of Timothy Williams, the only fatality when the rig caught fire in September 1988, said that Arco, the rig operators, and to a lesser extent, Odeco, the owners, were responsible for Mr Williams's

death. "Arco personnel were guilty of the most serious breach of safety management imaginable," Mr O'Neill said. "They were acting out a bet with people's lives, setting the stakes against Arco's commercial gain and the aggrandisement of their own macho egos."

"The attitude of the companies 'all but ensured that somebody would die sooner or later'."

"That more people did not die once the Ocean Odyssey blew up, as so many did on Piper Alpha, was simply a

matter of luck. It had nothing to do with proper safety management of pre-planned emergency procedures," Mr O'Neill told the fatal accident enquiry at Aberdeen into Mr Williams's death.

He said that the explosion and fire on the rig 130 miles east of Aberdeen could have been prevented. Mr Williams "was killed as a direct result of the failure by Arco to allow operations on board to be conducted in a safe and responsible manner."

The enquiry continues.

## Curtain up in 1994 on £33m Glyndebourne opera house

By SIMON TAIT, ARTS CORRESPONDENT

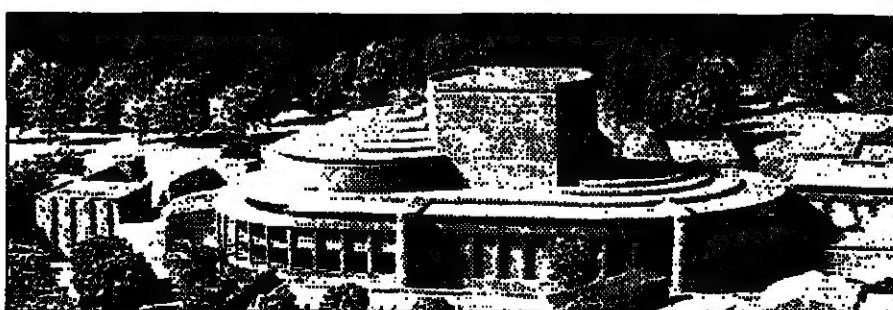
BRITAIN'S first new professional opera house for 60 years will open at Glyndebourne in 1994 at a cost of £33 million, Sir George Christie, chairman of Glyndebourne Productions, said yesterday.

Three-quarters of the money has already been pledged "entirely from our friends and supporters in Britain", he said. "For the rest, we will be looking abroad as well as within the United Kingdom, but it has been a considerable achievement and indication of support for something which started as a private dream."

None of the money will come from public funds.

The opera house will be built in the shadow of the existing one, next to the Christie family's Victorian mansion near Lewes, East Sussex. It will have 1,150 seats, 320 more than at present, and an auditorium 39 per cent bigger. Designed by Michael Hopkins and Partners, and using traditional materials, it will be dug into the chalk of the South Downs to blend with the topography.

Sir George hoped that Glyndebourne's financial future will be secured by the



Rising star: a model of how the new Glyndebourne opera house will appear limited to less than 35 per cent. The Glyndebourne Festival Society, which has ticket priority, has a waiting list of 6,000.

The new opera house will offer greatly improved

acoustics, better sight-lines and proper back-stage facilities. The landscaped gardens where opera-goers enjoy champagne suppers during the long intervals will remain untouched. The new

building will not open for any longer in the year, despite enhanced facilities and capacity. "It would put an extra strain on the administration and may also change the nature of the festival," Sir George said.

This year's festival, starting on May 24 and lasting three months, will contain six operas and 72 performances, marking the bicentenary of Mozart's death.

The opera house is expected to open on May 28, 1994, to mark the 60th anniversary of the festival's foundation.

Arts, page 13



## Drive-in gang flees with £4m Ferraris from stately home

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

DETECTIVES were last night hunting a gang which carried out one of the largest car thefts of modern times, audaciously driving a transporter into the grounds of a stately home and removing Italian sports cars worth up to £4 million.

Hertfordshire police said it was possible the cars had been smuggled out of Britain to foreign buyers.

The cars, three Ferraris and a Maserati, were stolen from a renovated stable block at Broomfield Hall, home of Lord Broomfield in Welwyn. He owned one car and the others were being renovated for their owners.

The estate has been developed by Lord Broomfield (family motto: the cat stroked is meek), into a conference centre. It is surrounded by high security and is regarded as sufficiently secure to have played host for both government and EC conferences. The

thieves overcame sophisticated alarm systems round the stable block, part of the complex in the estate. They struck sometime between April 25 and May 7. The stable block was not regularly checked and the theft was discovered this week.

Police believe the thieves not only managed to breach the estate's security but also brought a transporter into the estate unseen. They then loaded the four cars and four engines and vanished into the surrounding countryside. Broomfield Hall is less than ten minutes' drive from the A1 and the cars could have been in London in little more than an hour.

Police have appealed to villagers around the estate for any sightings of a transporter in the area. It would have taken some time to load the stolen cars and the engines but police have so far revealed no

clues or witnesses. Yesterday the grand electronic gates which guard the main entrance to the estate and are capable of halting a vehicle travelling at 80mph were firmly closed.

Lord Broomfield succeeded to the 1,400-acre estate in 1967. A former Guards officer he has become a passionate collector of Ferraris. Last night he was unable to comment. He owns another 37 Ferraris.

A classic car expert likened the thefts to stealing a Picasso and said that the cars were probably stolen to order for sale abroad (Kevin Eason writes).

David Selby, editor of *Autoclassic*, said: "These are cars that are as traceable as Picassos or grand masters in their individuality. Cars like this with limited production numbers are too well known within the trade and could never be sold openly."

Among the cars stolen is Lord Broomfield's 1952 Ferrari 340A Cabriolet Vignale. The others are a 1951 Ferrari Sport, a 1955 Ferrari 250 Europa GT and a 1960 Maserati TI P061 Birdcage. One of the missing engines is a black Oscar racing engine, the only one of its type in the world. The other three are Maseratis. They could be heading for Far East, possibly Japan, experts say.

Paul Foulkes-Halbard, who runs a classic car museum, said: "These cars are too hot to handle. If you pinched the Crown Jewels you would have a better chance of getting away with it." The Association of British Insurers estimates that 600 stolen cars a week cross the Channel, amounting to thefts worth £600 million a year.



Enthusiastic collector: Lord and Lady Broomfield with two of the Ferraris from his classic collection

## Sinn Fein man guilty of falsely imprisoning double agent

By TIM JONES

DANNY Morrison, former publicity director of Sinn Fein, will today be sentenced for his part in falsely imprisoning a police double agent. Seven others will also be sentenced at Belfast crown court for the same offence.

Morrison, described by his counsel as "a man accustomed to walking across a minefield on the verge of unlawfulness", was cleared with six others of conspiring to murder Alexander Lynch.

Lynch was responsible over an 18-month period for a

series of reversals to the IRA. While engaging in acts of violence, to maintain his credibility, his information enabled police to thwart murder attempts and discover arms and ammunition.

The charges arose from an incident in January last year when Lynch, a member of an IRA intelligence unit who became a police informer, was lured to a house in west Belfast. There, over a weekend, he was searched, stripped, blindfolded, bound, deprived of food and sub-

jected to professional interrogation techniques.

Lynch, who has been given a new identity and now lives in England, had been offered an amnesty by his captors, the court was told. With five minutes to go, and hysterical and crying, he made a written and tape recorded statement. His imprisonment ended when armed police burst in and arrested his captors.

Sir Brian Hutton, the Lord Chief Justice, said that although Lynch was a person of no moral worth whatsoever, his evidence had been corroborated. Sir Brian said that Morrison was "a clever and astute individual, quite capable of maintaining a prepared and untruthful account under cross-examination".

He did not believe Morrison's story that he had gone to the house to meet Lynch to arrange a press conference. The judge said it was probable that the IRA was planning to kill Lynch and that Morrison went to the house in connection with the plot to kill him.

## Maguire papers found

A SCIENTIST involved in the case against the Birmingham Six may have led the lawyers for the Maguire family to documents which provide vital evidence in their case, Mr Anthony Arledge, QC, their counsel told the Court of Appeal yesterday (Lin Jenkins writes). Proper examination of the documents, unearthed last

Friday, could delay the hearing for a day, but they may be of substantial importance.

Anne Maguire, her husband, two sons her brother and a family friend received sentences ranging from four to 14 years when they were convicted in 1976. Her brother-in-law died in jail. The hearing continues today.

## Moss Side, beyond the drugs, mayhem and murders

FAMILIES in Moss Side, Manchester, should help the police catch drug dealers thought to be involved in at least two murders this year, an environment minister said yesterday. Robert Key, who met Kenneth Baker, the home secretary, promised money for the area.

Police are being issued with body armour to protect them while patrolling troubled estates in the area. Some officers buy their own bullet-proof vests rather than patrol the Alexander Park estate unprotected, where there have been 24 malicious wounding, including six shootings, this year. There have been 13 lesser wounding. Two people have been murdered and another survived an attempt on his life.

Some of the most recent violence stems from minor dealers jockeying to take over the market of 11 big drug dealers convicted in the past 18 months, police say. According to Chief Superintendent Andrew Glaister, in charge of policing Moss Side, the latest violent attacks have been motivated by macho, inter-gang squabbling. "It started in March with the theft of a car, then someone else's car was burned as a reprisal. 'Tit-for-tat' ended up with the murder of Carl Stapleton." His body

Police don body armour before patrolling an area where drugs and violence are rife. Peter Victor has been there

was found two weeks ago. He had been hacked to death with a machete. Two weeks earlier, Richard Bowen, from Birmingham, was shot dead on the estate.

Anthony Richards lost an eye in a shooting incident at the end of March. His brother Junior found Stapleton's body on April 29. Later the same day, a young man was shot through the hand.

The youths involved in the gang violence total less than 50. There are ten gang leaders, each with four or five minions. None of the leaders is older than 30. Younger boys are paid to run occasional errands. The dealers sell heroin and a little crack.

More than 50 firearms, including some imitations, and several crossbows were seized on the estate last year. While conceding the problem is serious, Mr Glaister said there were parts of Manchester suffering worse violence. "Because it's Moss Side, because there have

been riots here in the past, it makes a better headline," he said. Parts of Salford and Chesham had similar problems and police there had also been issued with vests, he said. "The problem is a social one. We can't help that. We're not responsible for lack of skills, lack of training, unemployment. That is what lies at the root of this."

Manchester city council seems Moss Side as a policing problem, pointing out that the housing is much better housing than in neighbouring Hulme. Low-rise brick terraces with gardens on the Alexander Park estate are the result of lessons learnt from the leaky, damp, system-built concrete blocks thrown up in Hulme in the late 1960s. The estate shows signs of neglect, however. Some houses are boarded up. Rubbish lies on top of broken fences. The streets are dirty and graffiti is rife. The effect is depressing.

The police say they could tackle the problem immediately with help from people on the estate. "We know who the gang members are," Mr Glaister said. "But we can only act on the basis of rules of evidence." What is needed, he said, is a joint approach backed by the local authority and social services.



Young virtuoso: Sarah Chang, aged 10, whose European debut is at a charity concert before the Duchess of York at

St James's Palace tonight. Her father is South Korean violinist Min Soo Chang and her mother, Myung, a

pianist and composer. Sarah gave her first public performance aged eight with the New York philharmonic

## Cash for cases plan 'disaster for courts'

By FRANCES GIBB  
LEGAL AFFAIRS  
CORRESPONDENT

PROPOSALS to fund magistrates' courts by case-load, speed of processing and court facilities could become a complete disaster, a conference of the Justices' Clerks' Society was told yesterday.

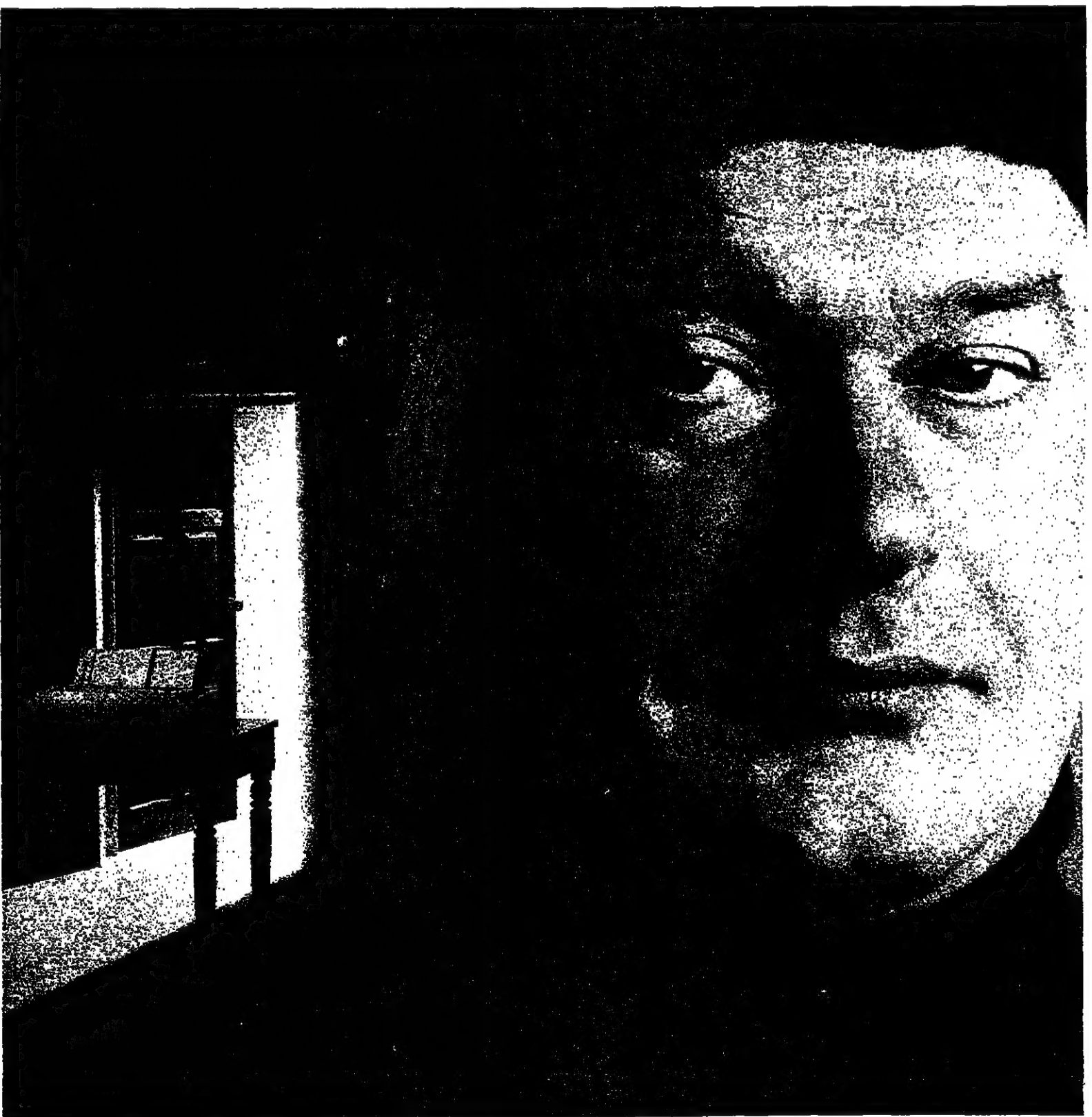
Brian Forster, president of the society, said the government's proposals could mean a freeze, if not cuts, in funding at a time of rising crime and unprecedented demands on the courts. The proposals were "flawed at almost every turn".

Worse, they introduced "executive influence over judicial discretion in many areas", by making funds dependent on "the measure of performance, when that performance is the exercise of what should be a purely judicial discretion."

The increase in work came from enforcing the community charge and dealing with children's cases under the Children Act 1990. But the proposals, in the criminal justice bill, provided no contingency fund for unexpected increases in work.

If children's cases came first, as they should, then there might be no time to enforce the community charge or to hear appeals against refusals of public entertainment licences, or, eventually, minor traffic cases or "long contests with defendants on bail", Mr Forster said.

He said courts should have been looked at individually to determine where there was true waste and how it could be reduced.



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## Gulf general pledges full disclosure on troops' deaths

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE commander of the British forces in the Gulf war said yesterday that it was wrong to jump to conclusions about who was to blame for the incident in which nine British soldiers died after an attack by an American A10 aircraft.

General Sir Peter de la Billiere promised that there would be "full disclosure" of the outcome of the investigation being carried out into the circumstances that led to the deaths. The nine soldiers killed on February 27 had been in two Warrior infantry fighting vehicles and were from the Queen's Own Highlanders and the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers.

American troops were killed

by their own aircraft in two other incidents in the war. On January 30, 11 US marines were killed by a missile fired by an A10. On February 2, a marine was killed and two were injured by cluster bombs.

Sir Peter's remarks, during a Commons defence committee hearing, came after a claim by a senior US commander that a British ground forward air controller was to blame for the incident. Lieutenant-General Charles Horner, overall commander of the allied air campaign in the Gulf, said in an interview with an American magazine that the British ground controller reported there were no friendly forces "within four kilometres of his location". The A10 pilot saw two armoured personnel carriers in the area and fired.

The telephone interview with Lt-Gen Horner was on March 7, a week after the incident. The defence ministry said the investigation into the deaths had just begun at that stage.

Sir Peter commented: "The war was going on. There was no time to stop and think, so everything had to be looked at after the event."

Allied forward air controllers, equipped with binoculars, range finders and radios, kept in touch with allied aircraft and maintaining radio contact with ground commanders to prevent attacks by friendly planes.

Sir Cyril Smith, Liberal Democrat MP for Rochdale, yesterday wrote to the prime minister, asking for a full enquiry into the deaths of the nine soldiers, after representations from the family of one of the victims.

□ Sir Peter rejected accusations that the allies had not gone far enough in trying to destroy the Iraqi armed forces. He told the committee that the allies had restored sovereignty to the Kuwaitis and had destroyed the Iraqi forces in Kuwait. Had the allies gone further, they would have "stepped outside" the UN security council resolution.

Giving evidence to the committee, which is examining the lessons learnt from Operation Granby, Sir Peter said: "It's my personal belief that we shouldn't have done any more than we did."

Charles Bremner, page 18



Sir Peter: "Wrong to jump to conclusions"

## Union chief wants relaxation of rules on 'poaching'

By PHILIP BASSETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

THE principles that prevent unions poaching members from one another should be reformed according to a suggestion from the Transport and General Workers' Union, the TUC's largest member.

The TUC's Bridlington principles do not allow unions to recruit members for whom another union has rights of representation and they have been criticised for preventing employees from joining the trade union of their choice.

Bill Morris, the TGWU's deputy general secretary, told *The Times* that the principles had served the movement well but that "today when we are about choice and opportunity for the individual there is no choice or opportunity within them".

At a TUC conference in London on the future role of trade unions, he called for the procedures to be reviewed by an independent outsider. He suggested that they ought to be less confrontational and that the system should provide for consultations with the employees involved rather than just the unions and officials.

Three years ago, the EETPU electricians' union was expelled from the TUC in a dispute over two Bridlington rulings, and more expulsions have been only narrowly

avoided. Some right-wing union leaders, including Eric Hammond, of the EETPU, and John Lyons, of the EMA power engineers, have openly advocated the ending of the Bridlington procedures so that unions can operate in a free market. They argue that the principles - passed hurriedly at a conference at the Humberside resort just after war broke out in 1939 - have turned away many potential members by refusing to let them join the union of their choice.

Mr Morris's proposal gains much of its force because it comes from a declared left-winger and from a union that is seen as a leader of the left. Even so, it is not likely to have an easy ride. Jimmy Knapp, general secretary of the RMT transport union, told the conference that they should not "be in the business of free market trade unionism". The Bridlington procedures had been put in place because of the need for discipline, and that need was still there.

Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, seemed to indicate some acceptance of the idea of a review. He said that Bridlington could be changed but only in ways that had widespread support. Without Bridlington, there would be "anarchy".



Knotty problem: a nail-studded tie by fashion designer Nick Coleman, one of 25 created by celebrities for a charity auction, on show at Liberty

## Academy gets pop down to a fine art 30 years on

By SIMON TAIT, ARTS CORRESPONDENT

POP art, once discarded by academics as too commercial and not true fine art, has won Britain's largest visual arts sponsorship for the Royal Academy.

More than £600,000, including £500,000 from Mercury Communications in the telephone company's first art sponsorship, has been pledged for the academy's autumn exhibition, "The Pop Art Show". The exhibition is the first to attempt a comprehensive survey of the movement which brought the swinging Sixties on to the canvas 30 years ago.

Writing in 1957, Richard Hamilton the British painter called for an art which was "popular, young, witty, sexy, gimmicky, glamorous, big business". His call was heard by a generation of Royal College of Art students, including Peter Blake, David Hockney, R. B. Kitaj, Allen Jones and Patrick Caulfield.

In New York, a little later, Claes Oldenburg advocated an art "heavy and coarse and blunt and sweet and stupid as life itself", responded to by such American artists as Jasper Johns, Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol. Out

of the movement came Blake's children reading comics, Hockney's swimming pools, Warhol's soup cans and Lichtenstein's comic strip paintings. All will have work in the exhibition, some producing new work in the same idiom in time for the exhibition.

Roger de Grey, president of the Royal Academy, taught Blake at the Royal College of Art. "I remember vividly Peter's little drawings of schoolboys reading comics, all of them wearing black eye patches for some reason. At first, I didn't see what was happening, but when the others followed, it became obvious."

The forecourt of the venerable 18th-century building in Piccadilly that houses the academy is to host another element of youth culture when the Radio 1 roadshow is set up during the exhibition. The pop radio station is one of the exhibition's sponsors.

Joe Tilson, the British pop artist, has been commissioned to design a special telephone card for Mercury as well as the poster for the exhibition.

Norman Rosenthal, exhibition secretary for the academy, said that pop art had been the most inspiring movement in painting since the depression. "It is from pop art that the whole youth culture of the last 30 years has generated itself," he said.

After the Royal Academy, where it runs from September 13 to December 15, the exhibition will be seen in Cologne and Washington.



Comic strip art: detail from 1963 Lichtenstein

Arts, page 17

## Villagers return after toxic alert

By MICHAEL HORSNELL

A THOUSAND villagers returned to their homes yesterday more than 48 hours after police ordered their evacuation when 24,000 litres of toxic chemicals were washed up on a beach on the north Norfolk coast.

Their return went ahead after two 24-tonne trailers containing ethyl acrylate, which landed on the beach at Kelling, near Sheringham, and began to leak, were safely pumped out by waste processing specialists as firemen stood by.

Most villagers from Weybourne, Salthouse and Kelling stayed with friends and relatives while about 160 were accommodated at Sheringham county primary school.

More than 40 people, including three firemen and seven policemen, were treated in hospital on Monday for exposure to the gas. The trailers were among four swept overboard from the Swedish cargo vessel Nordic Pride on Friday as it made for Immingham, south Humber-side. Coastguards are keeping a close watch for the other two after alerting shipping.

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## Rescue plan costs may exceed £30m

## Parched rivers to be brought back to life

By MICHAEL MCCARTHY, ENVIRONMENT CORRESPONDENT

FIFTEEN English rivers shrunken or drying from lack of water are to be brought back to life by the National Rivers Authority at a cost that could exceed £30 million.

They are the worst cases of low river flows caused by excessive abstraction of water rather than lack of rainfall, and the NRA's solutions, outlined yesterday, are likely to include cancelling some abstraction licences held by water companies or landowners, which may involve large compensation payments. The NRA is studying possible remedial measures on a further 20 rivers with low flows.

Solutions have been identified for ten rivers:

**Battlefield Brook, Worcester:** augmentation of flows from borehole and possible river channel reining. Cost to be decided. Implementation: 1992.

**Letcombe Brook, Oxon:** augmentation of flows and lake levels. Cost: £50,000. Implementation: 1992-93.

**Lowther, nr Haweswater, Cumbria:** additional compensation water from

**Haweswater reservoir, Cumbria:** small implementation: 1991. Misbourne nr Amersham, Bucks: reduction in abstractions and lining of lake and river bed. Cost: £5 million. Start 1992.

**Fawg, Berks:** reduction in pumping from public water supply boreholes and linking of alternative source. Cost: £100,000. Implementation: 1991-92.

**Piddle, Dorset:** Licence variations and modification of stream flow. Cost: £2.5 million. Implementation: 1991-92 (partial).

**Slea, Lincs:** Augmentation of river flow from new borehole. Cost: £400,000. Implementation: by February 1992.

**Ver nr St Albans, Herts:** Reduction in abstractions and modification to distribution system. Cost: £2-£3 million. Implementation: 1991-93.

**Wallop Brook, nr Stockbridge, Hants:** Combination of partial revocation of abstraction licences, augmentation of river flows and river bed lining. Cost: £3 million. Implementation: this year.

**Wey, nr Athon, Hants:** Seasonal switching using existing boreholes in winter and new ones away from river in summer. Cost: £1 million. Implementation: beginning 1992-93.

Solutions for a further five rivers are expected to be identified this year. They are: **Allea, nr Stanbridge, Dorset:** probable need to reduce public water supply abstraction. Cost: £3.5 million.

**Dorset nr Sevenoaks, Kent:** possible relocation of public water supply abstractions, partial revocation of licences, river augmentation scheme, or a combination of these solutions. Short-term cost: up to £10 million.

**Hitz at Charlton, Herts:** study in progress.

**Upper Waveney at Redgrave, Norfolk:** possible relocation of abstractions and/or augmentation of flows from boreholes. Cost: £1.5-£3 million.

**Wey nr Upwey, Dorset:** reduction in public water supply abstractions, modifications of operating rules or flow augmentation. Cost to be identified.



Park Commodore, driven by Ernest Ward of Virginia Water, Surrey, who came second in the Royal Windsor Horse Show's novice hackney pony event yesterday

## Luxury ferries enlisted for Channel battle

Bigger ships with better facilities will go into service to compete with fast crossings offered by the Channel tunnel. Michael Dynes reports

BRITAIN's ferry companies are preparing to fend off the threat posed by Eurotunnel's new train services in what promises to be a bitter struggle for mastery of the English Channel.

Eurotunnel is not due to begin services until June 1993. However P & O European Ferries and its rival, Sealink Stena Line, are already spending more than £600 million on a new generation of luxury superferries and upgrading existing fleets in an attempt to retain their share of the lucrative market.

The new superferries, which are almost twice the size of existing vessels, will offer passengers increased comfort and service, separate motorist and lorry-driver lounges, expanded duty-free and other shops, a range of eating places, children's play rooms and gaming arcades.

Unable to compete on speed with Eurotunnel, which is expected to reduce crossing times by more than 30 per cent to about 35 minutes, the ferry companies have gambled their future on the conviction that there will remain a substantial number of people wishing to travel to and from the continent.

Graeme Dunlop, managing director of P & O European Ferries, is bullish about his company's prospects. "We think we can provide a very attractive alternative to the Channel tunnel, particularly when you compare the quality of our ships to their shuttles," he said. "On a ferry you will be able to walk about, take in the sea breeze, eat, drink, and spend your time shopping at our duty-free and retail outlets, which will offer everything from clothes to cosmetics. On a shuttle train you will be able to sit in your car. It will be a very basic service."

Lars-Erik Ottosson, the president and chief executive of Sealink Stena Line, was equally optimistic about the ferry companies' prospects. "Ferries are no longer what they used to be. They now offer a very enjoyable experience. Their disadvantage is time. On the other hand, I do not think it is going to be much fun travelling in the tunnel. In fact, I expect it will be very boring."

In the run-up to 1993, Eurotunnel can be expected to respond in kind, exploiting every opportunity to remind potential passengers that no one on a shuttle train will ever feel sea sick, or become stranded outside of Dover harbour for six hours waiting for rough seas to subside.

The ferry companies have no illusions about the competitive threat confronting them. Neither company is certain how deeply the tunnel will cut into its market. If passengers flock to the tunnel in their millions, both could be in trouble.

Plans by the European Commission to harmonise Community value-added tax rates, resulting in the abolition of duty-free sales, can be expected to squeeze profit margins even further. According to Mr Dunlop, much will depend on Eurotunnel's fare structure, about which little is known.

"Eurotunnel may try to wipe us out. We do not know. But the last thing the government wants is a Eurotunnel monopoly, so we are still talking to Sealink about the possibility of co-operation," he said.

In the short term, some degree of overcapacity is inevitable, which could result in reductions in fares and levels of service. In the long term, however, demand for cross-Channel services is expected to double, which should enable Eurotunnel and the ferries to co-exist happily.

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**Funds call for solar technology**

By NICK NUTTALL, TECHNOLOGY CORRESPONDENT

BRITAIN might miss out on an expected boom in solar cell technology unless the government provides more money for research, environmentalists said yesterday.

A report by government advisers said that there was a promising future for solar power in Britain with even greater export prospects. Solar panels are expected to be competitive in this country by the turn of the century for heating offices and lighting homes, the energy technology support unit at Harwell, Oxfordshire, said.

A wide range of applications are also foreseen in consumer electronics goods for so-called photovoltaics. The industry could also earn export orders of more than £700 million if a strong solar cell industry were encouraged in Britain.

Colin Moynihan, the energy minister, said that the government was backing the findings of the report with a £250,000 research programme. "The government is committed to stimulating the development and application of renewable sources of energy wherever they have prospects of being economically competitive and environmentally acceptable."

However, Michael Harper, of Friends of the Earth, said that the amount was derisory and urged the government to match the funding levels of other countries. The group said that America's 1991 budget was £21 million, Japan's was £16 million and Germany's £30 million. Britain is spending £2 million.

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## Bodies in car found by mother

A woman found the bodies of her two children and her estranged husband in a fume-filled car in a farm shed at Ayr, Gloucestershire, yesterday. Roy Washbourne, aged 45, was found with his sons Hayden, aged four, and Mason, aged 18 months.

Joanne Washbourne made the discovery as she looked for the children, who had spent the bank holiday with their father at the farm where he worked. Police do not want to question anyone in connection with the deaths.

## Retrial ruling

Douglas Henderson, master of the dredger Bowditch which sank the Marchioness pleasure cruiser, is to face a retrial after the jury at the first trial failed to reach a verdict. A judge rejected a submission that a retrial would be oppressive.

## Victims named

Two divers whose bodies were found on Tuesday entangled in their lines off the Sussex coast were named as Thomas Howard, aged 42, of Witley, west London, and David Morgan, aged 41, of Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire.

## Protest bombs

The Animal Liberation Front set off two fire bombs yesterday at an Oxford university pharmacology laboratory, in protest against animal experiments. Little damage was done.

## Ministry sued

The defence ministry is being sued for compensation by the widows of two RAF Tornado aircrew killed when their plane crashed over Cumbria in August 1988.

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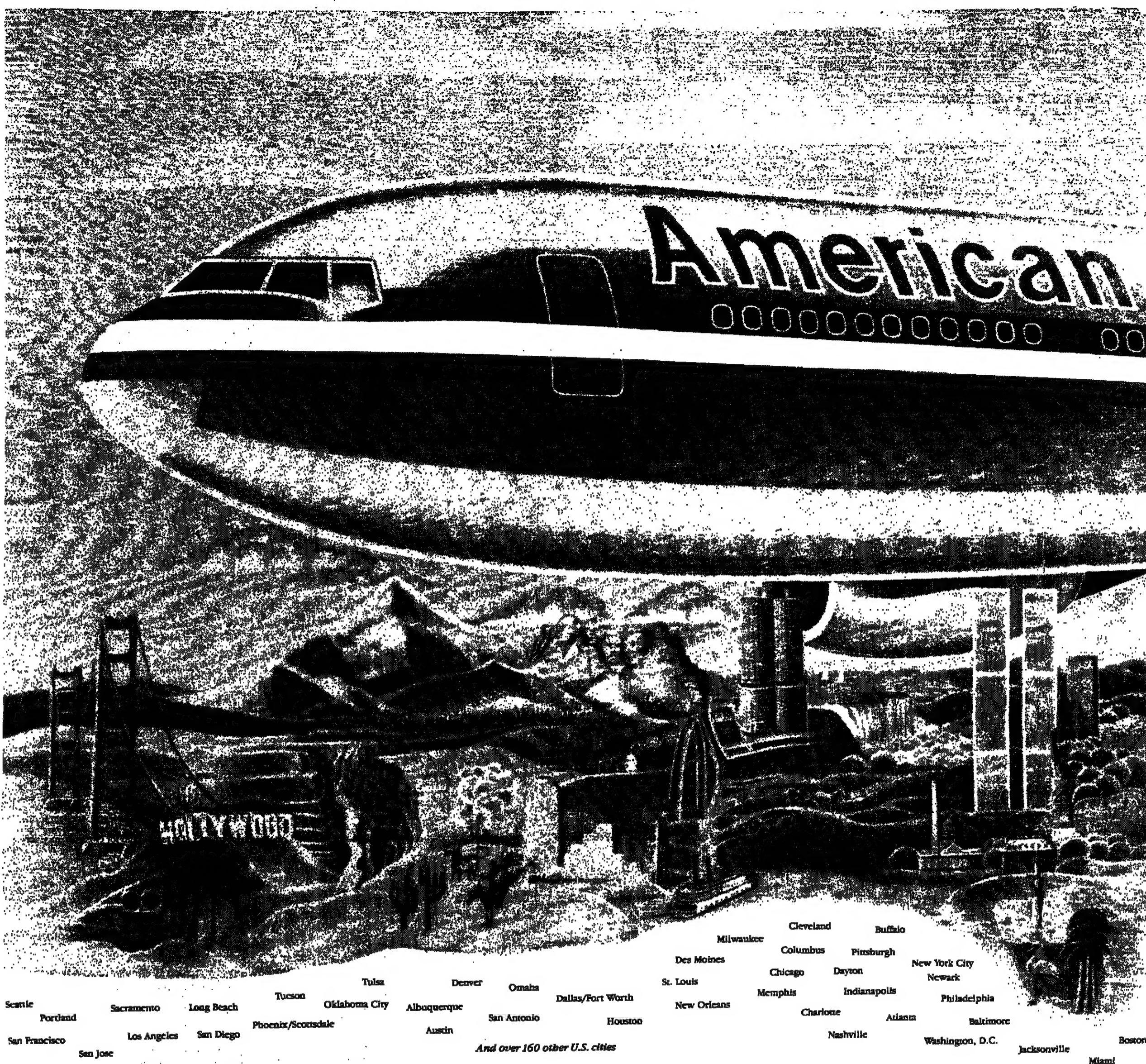
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Miami	10:00	15:10	57	2 July 1991
Newark, NJ	11:00	14:25	115	2 July 1991
New York (JFK)	09:00	11:50	101	2 July 1991
New York (JFK)	11:30	14:20	105	2 July 1991
New York (JFK)	18:00	21:00	107	2 July 1991
<b>From: Gatwick</b>				
To: Chicago	10:05	13:20	87	13 June 1991*
Chicago	13:25	16:40	47	2 June 1991*
Dallas/Fort Worth	10:40	14:50	51	Current
Dallas/Fort Worth	13:00	17:25	79	Current
Miami	10:00	15:05	57	Current*
New York (JFK)	12:15	15:15	7	21 July 1991
<b>From: Manchester</b>				
To: Chicago	10:25	13:00	55	Current
New York (JFK)	12:00	15:00	93	2 July 1991
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## Scottish Conservative Conference

## Tory party leaders reject devolution for Scotland

By NICHOLAS WOOD AND KERRY GILL

THE Conservative leadership quashed speculation yesterday that the party was about to embrace some form of devolution only three years after activists voted overwhelmingly against home rule for Scotland.

Ian Lang, the Scottish secretary, said that the government's review of the structure of local government must not become a stalking horse for Labour's pet project of a tax-raising Scottish assembly.

It would be an insult to local government, he said, to treat its future as an afterthought to those whose real purpose was to create such a body in Edinburgh. Mr Lang also offered little encouragement to prominent party members pressing for the more modest objective of a Scottish senate setting strategic objectives for ministers. He said that such a forum could be justified only if it was part of a national network of regional assemblies throughout the United Kingdom.

Chris Patten, the party chairman, has been implicated in an alleged plot to manoeuvre John Major into reopening the devolution debate in Scotland in an attempt to lift the party out of the political doldrums. But yesterday Mr Patten made plain that he had no wish to intrude on the Scottish political scene and warned the protagonists

in the debate that they risked damaging the party's electoral fortunes.

Mr Patten told reporters on his arrival at the Scottish party conference in Perth that it was tiresome to have to defend himself over things he had not



Lang: devolution would harm investment

said, nor done nor thought about. He emphasised that Mr Lang and Lord Sanderson of Bowden, the Scottish party chairman, were the main advisers to the prime minister on political events in Scotland.

"I hope we will remember here and elsewhere over the coming months that parties that appear to be united have a far better chance of winning elections than parties that

appear not to be united", he said.

Mr Patten had been challenged by Allan Stewart, a junior Scottish Office minister, to clear the air over reports that he was leading Mr Major towards a Scottish parliament.

Mr Lang, speaking at the end of the local government debate, closed the door on devolution despite calls from two parliamentary candidates for the party to take a fresh look at the issue. He told representatives that devolution would "undermine business confidence, reduce investment, frighten away overseas companies and destroy jobs. And we do not want it."

Paul Martin, parliamentary candidate for Edinburgh Central, said, however, that it was time the Tories shrugged off their "anti-Scotland" image and set about finding ways to improve scrutiny of the Scottish Office. He said that it should examine the options of an advisory senate, a deliberative assembly or a quasi-federal system of elected bodies for all the regions of the United Kingdom.

Lloyd Best, parliamentary candidate for Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale, said that the party had to recognise the strong regional and national identities in the United Kingdom. It was ridiculous to sup-

port devolution in Northern Ireland and oppose it in Scotland. Mr Lang said that, although he would support devolution on a United Kingdom basis, he could see little sign of any pressure for assemblies in England.

Speakers in the debate welcomed the introduction of the council tax, but many said that they would have been happy to retain the poll tax, albeit in an amended form that would have taken account of the ability to pay.

The conference's overwhelming support for the government's replacement of the community charge was a further sign that Mr Major's new formula for local taxation was proving acceptable, even to some of the poll tax's most fervent supporters.

Earlier, the right-wing-led Scottish Young Conservatives, frequently a thorn in the side of the party leadership, launched a campaign in support of Mr Lang's refusal to treat with the devolutionists. They demanded that the party should debate the issue and vote it out of existence once and for all. Murdoch Fraser, chairman of the national Young Conservatives, said that devolution had been dealt what appeared to be a mortal blow at the party conference in Perth three years ago.

Leading article, page 19

## President outlines exacting target

By KERRY GILL

SCOTTISH Conservatives were given the goal yesterday of increasing popular support to more than 30 per cent, an achievement unmatched since May 1979 when Margaret Thatcher came to power.

Michael Hirst, president of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Association, in his opening address to the conference, said that 12 years ago there were more than 900,000 Scots supporting the party. There was no reason why that support should not be repeated in time for the next general election.

"It is surely not too much to aim for that again. The target of one million votes is certainly exacting, but not unattainable, if everything comes right for us," he said.

The target will be a tough one to reach with support having settled at about 25 per cent since John Major became prime minister. Mr Hirst's aim is also in line with that set by Malcolm Rifkind when he took over as Scottish secretary in the mid-eighties.

Mr Hirst took heart from the fact that the Tories' popularity in Scotland has risen markedly since last year's party conference in Aberdeen when the party was racked by internal dissent between left and right wings. "We met a year ago in the wake of the regional elections



Hirst: hoping to raise support above 30 per cent

in which our fortunes could, at best, be described as mixed. There were plenty of critics then ready to write our obituary notice. We have confounded them, we have come out fighting and proved that we have resilience and determination," he said.

He pointed to the party's rise in the polls. Support was only 20 per cent last May, according to Mori, and moved little until November when Mr Major succeeded Mrs Thatcher. It immediately rose

to 25 per cent. He emphasised that the Scottish Tories were now winning a string of local by-elections.

"There is a moral for us all in these election successes," he said. "They did not happen accidentally. They were a result of a well-led campaign, a clear plan of action and a team united in its determination to win." Mr Hirst added that the economy was now more broadly based, education had improved, more people were in work and the public was enjoying higher living standards than ever before.

He warned party activists that there could be no question of an automatic Tory victory at the next election. "The seats lost and won in Scotland could be the deciding factor in determining whether we have that fourth term. Next time round the Scots cannot behave as though the general election was just one massive by-election. Our challenge must be to wear our fellow Scots off socialism, whether Labour's red-blooded variety, or the nationalist and Liberal derivatives," he said.

## 'Racist taunt' angers MPs

By PETER MULLIGAN

A LABOUR left winger infuriated Tory MPs last night by allegedly calling out: "This way, racists" as they walked through the lobby to vote against a bill helping refugees into Britain.

David Nellist was said to have added: "Pick up your legs and goose-step in", according to those who protested vehemently to the deputy speaker shortly afterwards.

They called for the sergeant-at-arms to remove Mr Nellist, MP for Coventry South East, from the voting lobbies and urged that he be called on to explain himself and apologise.

Sir Bernard Braine, father of the House, said: "I have sat in this House for over 40 years. I have never heard or witnessed the sort of behaviour which has been taking place. It was threatening in character. It was abusive. It may well have confused MPs coming in to vote."

Sir William Clark, MP for Croydon South, said: "There should be something done to prevent MPs being subjected to this sort of behaviour by somebody who really does not believe in democracy."

Sir Paul Dean, the deputy speaker, said: "If there has been any verbal abuse, that is grossly out of order. I strongly deprecate it." He said he understood that no physical obstruction had taken place.

The asylum seekers and refugees bill, to speed asylum for refugees into Britain, was introduced by 116 votes to 73 and given a formal first reading.

Jeremy Corbyn, Labour MP for Islington North, its sponsor, said that the bill would create a refugee protection agency, a review board to hear appeals, and a charter of rights for housing, education and social services.

Gerald Howarth, Tory MP for Cannock and Burntwood, said that the whole premise behind the bill was to make it easier for yet more foreigners to be admitted for settlement in this overcrowded island.

## Monmouth by-election

## Health proves to be the bugbear

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SOMEONE among the Tory strategists at party headquarters for the Monmouth by-election has insisted that the party must shift the National Health Service from dominating the political agenda.

After two weeks of campaigning, Labour has successfully forced the Tories on to the defensive over the health service and particularly over whether two local hospitals will opt for self-governing status. For the past three days, health and the fate of the hospitals has dominated the daily Conservative press conference, eclipsing appearances by senior ministers.

Although neither hospital has applied for self-governing status, the manager of a 400-bed unit has agreed that trust status is being considered. While Roger Evans, the Conservative candidate who usually dresses in country tweeds and brogues, dismissed Labour's warning about opting out as nothing more than a scare, its effectiveness was reflected by his attempt yesterday to minimise political damage from the dispute.

Mr Evans insisted repeatedly that any proposals to opt out were only at the earliest stage. If he had left his comments at that the party could have heaved a sigh of relief, but he breathed new life into the issue when, after being asked if patients should be asked about opting out, he began speaking about shopkeepers. "Shopkeepers do not, except by a process of market research, assess exactly what their customers want," he said.

Later he added that he had simply been saying that a hospital had a changing class of person who used it in exactly "the same way as Tesco had a different group of people in it each day."

His forthright remarks were typical of the man. There is a whiff of danger about Mr Evans, a London barrister who often gives the impression that he is still trying to impress the



Evans: refreshing in his outspokenness

judge rather than the electorate. He is refreshing in his contempt for any suggestion that he could be perhaps a little more politic. "If you are suggesting to me that I ought to be more slippery and more dishonest, I reject that," he said. "I see neither merit, justice nor truth in trying to fudge matters." Mr Evans is a member of Bupa, has a son at a private preparatory school and believes that socialism is grounded in robbery.

His outspoken approach led Sir David Steel, Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman, to say: "I have heard they have a Conservative candidate who seems to be right off the wall, that they are bringing in Norman Tebbit to soften the campaign."

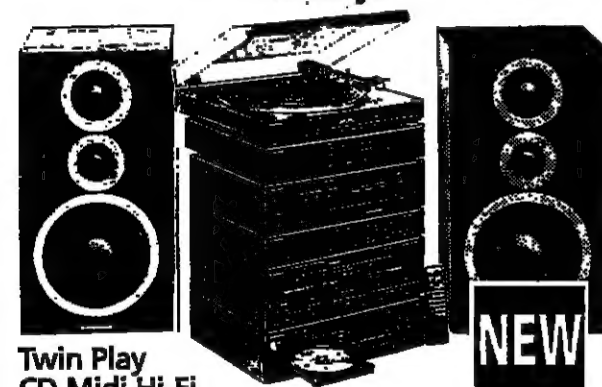
Mr Evans's remarks have been seized on by Labour anxious that their candidate, Huw Edwards, a typical product of the new model Labour party, should be projected as the soul of moderation. His campaign posters, which show a young man with a jacket casually thrown over his shoulder, could be from the pages of any mail order fashion catalogue. Yesterday he said: "What they [the voters] are looking for is someone who is moderate and sensible."

General election: JS Thomas (C), 22,387; K Gass (Lab), 13,037; C Lindley (SDP/All), 11,313; S Meredith (Pl Cymru), 363. C maj: 9,350.

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THE TIMES THURSDAY MAY 9 1991

## Patten revives possibility of a June election

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CHRIS Patten, the Tory party chairman, revived the possibility yesterday of a June election by disclosing that an internal analysis of last week's council poll results pointed to a narrow Conservative general election victory.

The Tories lost nearly 900 seats in the town hall contest and the results have been interpreted widely as removing John Major's preferred option of an early dash to the polls. Mr Patten made clear, however, that Conservative Central Office calculations over the weekend had put a more optimistic gloss on the

results. He indicated that they suggested that the Conservatives would have been returned with an overall majority of about twenty seats. "It was a pretty comprehensive analysis and, based on that, we would have won last Thursday. We would have squeaked home."

Mr Patten refused repeatedly to rule out the possibility of an election next month. He said that nothing was ruled out and nothing was ruled out. The Tory chairman and many of his senior cabinet colleagues are understood to favour waiting until the autumn at least before calling a general election. Nevertheless, in the light of a more encouraging message that has emerged from detailed consideration of the extrapolation from the council results, and with the prospect of victory in next week's Monmouth by-election, the Tory high command is reluctant to abandon an enticing election option at this stage. It appears that an outstanding result in the Welsh by-election would force closer re-examination of a June ballot.

A bullish Mr Patten re-kindled election speculation by claiming that the clearest message from the district elections was that Labour had "flopped". He told reporters at the Scottish Conservative party conference that Labour had spent Friday and Saturday spinning its fingers around the figures in a forlorn attempt to convince itself that it had scored a conclusive victory. Such claims were for the Tories, the Tory chairman said. "Labour has peaked and has nowhere to go but down."

Mr Patten added that on the basis of the council results the Conservatives would have held Monmouth. Confirmation that the Tories are still toying with a June poll came as Mr Patten intensified his attacks on Labour's tax plans and painted an increasingly rosy view of the country's economic prospects. The prime minister will return to this theme in his conference speech tomorrow.

In a speech at a conference fringe meeting, Mr Patten said that the economy was at a turning point. Inflation was set to fall sharply over the coming months and growth would resume. "Labour should be sagging as economic confidence grows."

He added that Labour's tax plans were unravelling as a succession of spokesmen admitted that more and more people would be soaked by a Labour government. John Smith, the shadow Chancellor, had let the cat out of the bag by conceding that one in eight taxpayers — three million families — earning over £20,000 a year would be hammered.

In the council polls, Labour had fallen far short of its stated objective of a general election winning performance. "It is Labour who has fallen away since last year. If they could not win last week, they never will."



### Recycling scheme to cost £12m

Details of a £12 million scheme to encourage local authorities to invest in recycling will be announced today, David Trippier, environment minister, said at a question time.

The move will "add significantly" to measures in place to help the spread of recycling. A separate scheme to encourage householders to divide their rubbish into glass bottles, newspapers and tin cans was likely within the next two months, he said.

### Food aid

About 3,800 tonnes of butter and 3,000 tonnes of beef are available this year to be distributed to the needy under the surplus food scheme, David Curry, an agriculture minister, said in a written reply. Most will go to organisations providing prepared meals and those serving the homeless and destitute.

### House sales

About 1,100,000 council houses and 120,000 flats have been sold since the government introduced its right to buy policy in 1979, Sir George Young, the housing minister, said.

### Missing list

The Home Office is to introduce an index of missing persons on the new police national computer, Peter Lloyd, under secretary, said in a written reply.

### Parliament today

Commons (2.30): Questions: Agriculture, fisheries and food; prime minister. Social security (contributions) bill, all stages. Lords (3): Road traffic bill, committee continued.

## Major must wait for return to the fold

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR



Portillo: "tactical" Tories may return to the fold

JUNE is not quite dead yet, some ministers were suggesting this week. Bank managers have been seen with fistfuls of fivers at the races and John Major might yet decide to blow his cautious image on one glorious fling. But there would not be much future for him if he went in June a year before he had to and lost.

A string of good opinion polls would be needed to turn it. The Monmouth by-election next Thursday may not help. Labour was second there in 1987, the Alliance in 1983. And though Labour and the Tories both prospered in the area at last week's local elections, the revival nationally of the Liberal Democrats makes it the sort of three-way seat the Tories might save less on account of their own recovery than by a division of the anti-Conservative vote.

Chris Patten, the Conservative party chairman, deliberately timed the Monmouth contest as a signal that hopes for June had been all but abandoned. The Tory election strategy in fact begins the next day, tomorrow week, when publication of the April inflation figures will see two full points lopped off. That, it is

hoped, will be the prelude to further interest rate cuts designed to put mortgage money back into people's wallets and the Tories back on 42 per cent with a three point lead in time for an October election.

Tory morale within the Commons has recovered surprisingly quickly from the drubbing in local elections, largely because of the number of Tory MPs elected in 1987 who have been pointing out to colleagues how their councils went the wrong way that year.

The electorate has become tactically sophisticated in local elections, identifying the best way of kicking the government of the day. Government MPs have become wise enough to note exit polls recording about 20 per cent of Liberal Democrat voters in the council contest who intend already to return to the Conservative fold in a general election. Local elections were the last fling for the poll tax as an issue. The local government minister Michael Portillo, now surely deserving promotion elsewhere, was not asked a single question on the subject in Monmouth.

Attention is turning now to campaign tactics. And it

will be a very different campaign from those in 1983 and 1987. The differences between the two main parties will be much narrower. The Labour left is grumbling that Kinnockism amounts to nothing more than watered down Conservatism and that a country wanting that will vote for a Tory government that will provide it with conviction. The Labour left is mirrored by a Tory right muttering that a "caring" Majorite programme of higher social spending is no more than Kinnockism with a stronger Treasury control and that an electorate seeking that might well opt for Labour.

As parties seek to emphasise their differences Labour is pitching hard on health issues, first because it always prospers when health tops the agenda but also out of conviction that health is the issue on which Mr Major sounds closest to Margaret Thatcher. They will do all they can to present the new prime minister as a clone of the old.

The Tories under Mr Patten's chairmanship have abandoned Kenneth Baker's efforts to present Labour as red in tooth and claw, reckoning that Neil Kinnock has persuaded the

public that it need no longer look under the bed. They are now close to completing their costing of the Opposition programme and will campaign on the lines that Labour still cannot do its sums, that the party will be in hock to the trade unions and that its policies would increase unemployment.

Tory strategists believe that Labour is taking a heavy gamble in both raising the top rate of tax from 40 per cent to 50 per cent and taking the ceiling off 9 per cent national insurance contributions. Labour will get few votes, they believe, from people facing a 19 per cent tax increase.

Where the Tories may be on less fruitful ground is in assuming as they do that Mr Kinnock is necessarily a drawback to his party. He is a far more disciplined politician than he was even four years ago. And Mr Kinnock's forte is campaigning. Labour's machine was impressive, far better than the Tories, in 1987 and it has got slicker since. Most Labour policies in consequence have had more launches than Roy Hattersley has had hot dinners; not for years have we seen the same fizz about the output from Tory Central Office.

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## Poorest 'see drop in cash for food'

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

POORER families have suffered a sharp reduction in the sums allowed to them in their benefits to cover food, according to a survey released by the Labour party today. The survey result led to an accusation that families who rely on benefits do not get enough to cover necessities.

An analysis issued by Michael Meacher, shadow social



Meacher: poorest worse off in absolute terms

security secretary, alleges that the amount allowed for food in official benefit calculations this year is half that of 1979 when related to average spending. The food component of supplementary benefit

was set at 30 per cent of the average spending of the poorest families in 1979. The food element of income support — which replaced supplementary benefit — is 15 per cent of the average spending of the poorest families. The study said that the cost of a diet giving all the requirements for energy and nutrients for a family with two adults and two children is £62.26 a week, or about 64 per cent of the amount they would receive in income support. Yet the average spent on food in the poorest families is only 26 per cent of household income.

Mr Meacher said: "We knew that millions had missed the good things of life over the past ten years. This is confirmation that families who rely on benefits do not even get enough to cover necessities. Families on income support are being forced to rely to feed themselves and their children on a declining proportion of a benefit that has been reduced in value."

The government could no longer say that poverty was only relative, or that the poor were seeing their living standards improve, albeit more slowly than the rest. Those dependent on state benefits were worse off in absolute terms.

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# Police impose curfew to end rioting in Washington

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

POLICE used tear gas and imposed a curfew from midnight to 5.00am in a Hispanic district less than two miles from the White House yesterday after the worst racial disturbances seen in the nation's capital since the assassination in 1968 of Martin Luther King.

Sharon Pratt Dixon, Washington's new mayor, was forced to declare a state of emergency during a second night of rioting by roving bands of several hundred youths. Armed with stones and petrol bombs, the gangs looted shops, set fire to cars and property and fought running battles with armed policemen.

By yesterday morning more than 50 people had been

arrested, 13 police officers had been injured and 13 police cars damaged. Scores of helmeted police stood on street corners; pavements were littered with broken glass, discarded tear-gas canisters and piles of burnt rubbish, and workmen boarded up shops.

As police fought block-by-block to reclaim the Mount Pleasant district on Monday night, the rioters split southwards towards the fashionable restaurant area of Adams Morgan. "It's the worst I've seen since Sixty-eight," said Edward Spurlock, Washington's deputy police chief. Some black youths had joined the disturbances, but there was no immediate sign that the rioting would spread to black areas of the city.

The trouble first erupted on Sunday evening after a woman police officer shot and critically wounded a Hispanic man who, according to police spokesmen, lunged at her with a knife while resisting arrest.

Witnesses claimed the man was shot while he had both arms handcuffed, but in any event the incident was enough to ignite the smouldering resentments of a community which had long considered itself ill-treated.

In a bid to defuse tensions, Mrs Dixon, who is black, had visited Mount Pleasant during Monday to meet community leaders. What she heard was a litany of complaints about harassment by the city's largely black police force, high unemployment, overcrowded housing, poor education and a city administration whose social agencies have all but ignored them. Many of the rioters later chanted "Justice for all" and, at the police, "Asshole".

Excluding the affluent suburbs in Maryland and Virginia, Washington is about 70 per cent black and 10 per cent Hispanic, the latter including thousands of illegal immigrants from El Salvador and other troubled Central American countries.

The Hispanics are too disorganised to have political influence and the language barrier impedes their participation in the democratic process. They are under-represented in the city's administration and fewer than 3 per cent of Washington's 4,900 police officers are Hispanic.

Mrs Dixon, who was warned of a "very hot summer" if she did not act fast, announced on Monday that she would establish a task force to address their concerns, but that was not enough to stop another night of rioting.



Burning resentment: riot police awaiting orders for action as a car, set ablaze by rioting Hispanic youths, blazes in the Mount Pleasant district of Washington. The disturbances took place less than two miles from the White House

## US press discovers Quayle's strengths in face of poll blows

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

TWO new polls yesterday showed that in the wake of President Bush's health scare, a majority of Americans believe he should drop Dan Quayle as his vice-presidential running mate for 1992.

A Washington Post-ABC News survey showed 54 per cent of respondents wanted Mr Bush to pick someone better qualified to take charge of the country should he be incapacitated; 57 per cent said Mr Quayle was not qualified to do so. A USA Today poll showed 51 per cent of respondents wanted Mr Quayle off the 1992 ticket, with 61 per cent saying they considered Mr Bush's vice-presidential choice as a "somewhat" or "very" important issue.

Mr Bush has stated flatly that Mr Quayle will be his 1992 running-mate and reiterated his full support for his vice-president on his return from hospital on Monday.

The president resumed a full workload at the White House yesterday with a heart monitor strapped to him and nurses keeping constant surveillance from a room adjacent to the Oval Office. At Barbara Bush's bidding, the president also switched to decaffeinated coffee.

Martin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, said that there had been no recurrence of the president's irregular heartbeat since early on Monday morning, that he had "slept like a log" on Monday night, and that he would be undertaking three out-of-town

trips at the weekend. Mr Bush said he was "back to normal and feeling great". There was some evidence that the Quayle controversy could yet rebound in the vice-president's favour. The Wall Street Journal noted that he had effectively championed a number of conservative causes and asked: "We wonder how much he's being ridiculed because of his shortcomings and how much because of his strengths." The editorial was accompanied by an article detailing his successes in lobbying for Republican causes, in promoting US trade overseas, on the campaign trail and as a leading hawk during the Gulf war.

A Washington Post editorial said Mr Quayle's competence was a legitimate issue for discussion but there had been "much that was unfair and disproportionate in the (media) assault" on him. In The New York Times a former editor, A. M. Rosenthal, said Mr Quayle was "far more able and sophisticated" than generally depicted and argued that it was "time to come to fresh conclusions about Mr Quayle instead of being bound by old commitments or distorted caricatures".

MOSCOW: During a meeting with Jack Matlock, the American ambassador to the Soviet Union, President Gorbachev enquired after President Bush's health yesterday and "expressed his profound satisfaction that Bush had recovered". (Reuters)

## Madonna goes to greater lengths to shock America

FROM CHARLES BRENNER IN NEW YORK

IF PRESIDENT Bush's heart had not played up, one face alone would have dominated the American media over the past few days, that of Madonna. After a further outburst of publicity, America's most notorious singer and actress has launched a film about herself that has drawn both praise and scorn, including suggestions that she needs treatment.

"What a tramp... shameless hussy... depraved," exclaimed the New York Post across its front page about *Truth or Dare*, the film in which the self-styled queen of sleaze bares her

soul and much of her body to a camera she appears to have lived with on her Blond Ambition concert tour. The Post accused her of blasphemy, corruption, sexual deviance, greed and a multitude of other sins. "If ever there was an emotional cripple, it is Madonna... you have to wonder where and how it is all going to end," it said. Eliciting outrage is of course the professed goal of the superstar who has made a career out of shocking standards of public decorum for the past decade.

An outsider might think that after her last tour, in

which the Canadian police came close to arresting her for simulating masturbation, and her sado-masochistic video banned last year by the MTV pop channel, Madonna would have little left in her arsenal and America would move on.

But Madonna, now aged 33, has an uncanny ability to match the voyeuristic urge of her countrymen with her own drive for exhibitionism. Time magazine has commissioned a poll which shows that 24 per cent of the population was still interested in hearing more about Madonna.



Turning heads: Madonna with a new dark hairstyle at the premiere of her film *Truth or Dare*, with her brother Christopher Ciccone, left, and director Alek Keshishian

## Accord close on township violence

FROM GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

THE South African government and the African National Congress are edging towards an agreement on defusing political violence in black townships, which would remove the immediate threat of a rupture in negotiations between them.

After intensive discussions yesterday, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, appeared to be preparing an agreement based on ANC demands for specific measures to curb the strife.

The ANC would reconsider its threat to suspend negotiations with Pretoria tomorrow if it received a satisfactory response to three key demands: the banning of traditional weapons favoured by Zulu supporters of the Inkatha Freedom party, the phasing out of migrant workers' hostels which Inkatha militants have transformed into armed camps, and impartial conduct by the security forces.

Agreement on the last two issues was virtually assured, but the question of Zulus bearing so-called "cultural" weapons in public remained problematic. Inkatha leaders claim the fearsome array of spears and clubs brandished by mobs in the townships are deeply rooted in Zulu culture and therefore indispensable. Mr de Klerk was expected to discuss the issue last night with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, before meeting Mr Mandela.

The ANC has evidently dropped its toughest demands, for the resignation of the ministers of defence and of law and order, paving the way for a compromise agreement. It has also approved proposals for church leaders to convene a broad-based peace conference, as an alternative to government plans to stage similar talks with ANC and Inkatha leaders later this month.

With both the ANC and Inkatha expressing reservations about talking peace under Pretoria's tutelage, the clerics' initiative seems the only way out of the impasse.

Fighting continues unabated in townships around Johannesburg and in Natal. The overnight death toll reported yesterday was 28, including five in Soweto, which brought the total there in the past week to 71.

Defence claim: George Bizos, Winnie Mandela's lawyer, said that she was the victim of a conspiracy to discredit her and that prosecutors failed to prove assault and kidnapping charges. He began his summing up by saying the state had not produced any evidence to convict his client and the judge must find her innocent. He also accused a key state witness of lying. (AP)

## Thousands of Kurdish refugees head home

FROM EDWARD GORMAN, AVAGUSI, ON THE TURKEY-IRAQ BORDER

AS thousands of Kurdish refugees streamed through this border staging post on their way home yesterday, the senior United Nations official in the region said the repatriation was going better than could have been expected only a few days ago.

Staffan De Misura, the UN special envoy for northern Iraq, travelled here to help organise the movement of refugees to the tented city at Zakhu, in the safe area, about one hour's drive away.

They were coming of their own volition on foot from the



huge refugee camp at Ishikveren, a mile to the north of here. Then they were being loaded on to lorries for the journey down from the mountains.

Mr De Misura said he believed refugees were making a realistic choice in electing to take advantage of the safe haven where there was transport, food, medical assistance and shelter, and the prospect for many of returning quickly to their homes.

He said the timetable for the completion of the repatriation on the Turkish border was up

to the refugees themselves, but he added: "They are responding so enthusiastically that it is going better than expected. We had planned for 2,000 a day (here). Now we are getting 4,000 to 5,000."

He said the operation at Avagusi involved American, French and British soldiers, and army trucks under the supervision of the UN. This was a so-called blue route starting and ending inside Iraq.

It was also a testing ground for the massive repatriation effort, code-named Operation Gallant Provider, which will involve up to 200,000 refugees and is expected to be launched later this week by the joint coalition command.

The Avagusi operation also involved scores of Kurdish lorry and tractor drivers who were paid one American dollar for every refugee they brought down.

American special forces soldiers helping to load the refugees, said Ishikveren camp near the border in the mountains, where around 100,000 people had accumulated at its peak, is now only one third of its earlier size.

The soldiers said the refugees, most of whom are from Zakhu and Dahuk, seemed very keen to get home. "Everybody I have talked to says as long as the Americans, the British and the French are in Zakhu and Dahuk, they will go home," said Staff Sergeant Tony Carey of the 1st Battalion, 10th special forces group. Sergeant Carey, who has worked in Ishikveren for two

## Bonn talks to Tehran on hostages

FROM IAN MURRAY IN BONN

HANS-DIETRICH Genscher, the German foreign minister, who is on a three-day visit to Iran, had "a very pleasant meeting" of an hour and a half with President Rafsanjani and other leaders in Tehran yesterday, in which he emphasised that all Western hostages in Lebanon should be released if Iran wanted to re-establish good links with the West.

Trade links are important to Bonn and the German-Iranian economic commission, which last met in 1976, is being resurrected to reconvene in Tehran at the end of next month.

## Superpowers try parallel peace initiatives in the Middle East

By PETER STOTHARD, US EDITOR, IN WASHINGTON AND MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

JAMES Baker, the American Secretary of State, and his Soviet opposite number, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, are to meet in Cairo on Sunday to discuss their simultaneous Middle East peace missions.

Mr Bessmertnykh, who begins his tour in Damascus today, will also visit Israel and Jordan, the same destinations as Mr Baker, who begins his tour on Friday. Both diplomats will be looking for ways to promote a peace conference under superpower auspices acceptable to Israel and its Arab neighbours.

For Mr Baker it will be a fourth visit to the region since the end of the Gulf war. His mood appears to have swung between occasional bouts of

optimism and longer periods of gloom. Observers in Washington are divided as to whether the naturally secretive secretary of state is achieving more than meets the eye, but there is a strong fear among Israeli supporters that the administration has a demarche ready to deliver to Jerusalem at the ripe time.

Mr Bessmertnykh is making the first official visit by a Soviet foreign minister to Israel since Moscow severed relations in 1967. He hopes to meet Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, but the venue has not yet been fixed.

Vitali Churkin, the Soviet foreign ministry spokesman, said "technical arrangements" for the Lebanon visit had not been completed, but con-

firmed that Moscow would "do what it could" to bring forward the release of Western hostages. Mr Bessmertnykh would be taking with him "some ideas, we think good ideas" that could contribute to normalising the situation in the region, but the Kremlin had no "sweeping peace plan".

There has been a subtle divergence in America's approach to a possible international conference on the Middle East and the Soviet approach, with Moscow favouring UN involvement from the beginning.

Mr Churkin implied at a briefing on the same day that Moscow might be considering a compromise, possibly a conference held in stages, with the UN entering the talks later.

## Heat may have saved the Gulf

Riyadh - The world's biggest oil spill has devastated Saudi Arabia's northeast coast but large areas of the Gulf may have had a lucky escape. A combination of hot sunshine and slow moving currents could have protected much of the waterway from up to six million barrels of oil which poured into the sea from Iraqi, Kuwaiti, and Saudi installations and tankers damaged during the Gulf War.

Environmentalists believe the Gulf's high salinity made the oil float on the surface, leaving it to evaporate under the blazing sun. Fifty to 70 per cent of the oil would have disappeared in 24 hours as its lighter constituents evaporated. (Reuters)

## Deal on milk

Wellington - The New Zealand Dairy Board has signed its first deal with Iraq since sanctions prohibiting the sale of food and medicines were lifted. It will ship 500 tonnes of whole milk powder to Baghdad this month. (Reuters)

## Crops relief

Baghdad - Six Polish helicopter pilots are due in Iraq to spray crops in the Kurdish north under United Nations supervision, a senior UN relief co-ordinator said. (Reuters)

## Desert takeaway

Kuwait - A hamburger stall run by the US Army on the Kuwait-Basra road closed yesterday. The stall served free hamburgers to soldiers and journalists. It was like a mirage, a French photographer said. (Reuters)

## Lebanon runs into potholes on road to recovery

FROM JUAN CARLOS GUMUCIO IN BEIRUT

THE civil war may be over, but the Lebanese who have endured 16 years of violence are quickly discovering the potholes on the road to peace.

Inflation, unemployment and crime are rising at an alarming rate, damping hopes for a swift transition to order and prosperity and testing the ability of the Syrian-backed government to cope.

Within days of the formal proclamation of the end of the conflict, President Elias Hrawi is facing a range of protests which threaten to paralyse the country indefinitely from tomorrow. About 70,000 teachers and university professors are already on strike in sup-

port of pay demands by the staff of Lebanon's 83 banks, most of which had to close after a walk-out on Monday.

Public discontent with the economy is eclipsing the celebration inspired by the implementation of Lebanon's most serious peace plan.

Marwan Hamade, the economy minister says optimistically the recovery of the economy could be possible in one or two years and that Lebanon could regain its buoyant role in the Middle East by the end of this decade. President Hrawi's approach to law and order may be tough, but it has not been too tactful: the government

caused national indignation by the arrests of members of the Union of Bank Employees who were organising the strike. They were later released on bail, but the unions denounced government interference with workers' rights and called a national strike.

Economic conditions worsened after the ministry of oil and industry imposed an 18 per cent tax on petrol last month. Perhaps the most widespread complaint is that, despite the improvement in security, the Lebanese pound has not made significant gains in relation to the American dollar.



Hrawi: tough but not tactful enough



## Bangladesh island buries its dead and waits to starve

FROM CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN HATIYA ISLAND, SOUTHERN BANGLADESH

THE people of Hatiya island are still burying their dead. The Bangladesh government pays 50 takas (90p) for each corpse or dead animal disposed of, but it will be a long time before the stench goes. The rice fields, which were about to be harvested, are ruined. Nobody knows how many monsoons it will take to clear the soil of salt, but there will be no more planting or reaping this year. Farmers wade knee-deep to recover potatoes, gourds and peanuts, which can be seen drying on the roads. There is, at the moment, a glut of food in the local markets, and street cafes are open with a limited menu. But soon this overabundance of produce will be perished. Without long-term aid from outside, Hatiya will starve.

Emergency goods are still in desperately short supply. Relief organisations such as Care International have made hazardous journeys to Hatiya in decrepit trawlers through nine miles of thrashing sea from the mainland, but the meagre supplies they bring are far from enough. One boat sank in high winds with its precious cargo of rice, matches, candles, plastic sheets, water containers and purification tablets. A bulky "sea truck" normally plies once a day from Hatiya to Chur Jaber on the mainland. But the old boat, a vital lifeline, was smashed in the cyclone that tore through southern Bangladesh nine days ago. There is, consequently, no means of moving lorries on to Hatiya. Without transport, far reaches

of the island are getting no help. People are probably starving and dying of disease, but nobody knows. Hatiya is a densely populated island, about ten miles by 40, with 350,000 inhabitants, of whom perhaps 3,000 to 5,000 died on the night of the storm. Soldiers were conducting a village-by-village survey yesterday to discover how many people had been killed. The tally would have been higher but for the 31 flood and cyclone shelters, each with a capacity of 1,000 to 3,000 people. The authorities say that every one of the 45,000 homes was either smashed or damaged. Some people are now collecting bamboo and sticks, preparing to repair the wreckage of their homes. Only brick-built buildings survived the battering, but many of those also lie ruined.

A Bangladesh army helicopter, carrying one-and-a-half tonnes of dried rice, landed at Abdul Motalam high school near the northern coast. The school, which had 1,500 students, was something to be proud of on the island. Now it is destroyed. People ran from villages far away to watch the helicopter being unloaded, but soldiers kept them at bay while the sacks were carried to a cyclone shelter for storage. Squadron Leader Emdad ul-Haq, the pilot, watched in frustration. "It is so little," he said. "We need many more helicopters. Our main fuel dump in the south, in Chittagong, was polluted by salt water. We have to fly all the way back to Dhaka for refuelling, which wastes 90 minutes each way."

Shamsur Tibrix, a resident who works as a liaison officer for relief agencies, said a new rice crop would have been planted in coming weeks. "It would have been harvested in August or September, after the monsoon. But the fields are useless now. How will people eat? There are not enough helicopters to bring all the food we need."

## UK sends helicopters to Dhaka

By PHILIP WEBSTER

BRITAIN is donating a further £2 million in aid for the Bangladesh cyclone disaster victims, bringing its contribution so far to £6.5 million, Lynda Chalker, the overseas development minister, said yesterday. The extra cash would be used to send additional relief supplies, two Royal Navy Sea King helicopters and a Royal Fleet Auxiliary ship with medical facilities.

Mrs Chalker said Britain's contribution was the largest single national donation, but Ann Cloynd, her Labour shadow, attacked the government's response as inadequate. She accused the minister of having "wasted ten valuable days" before sending helicopters. Mrs Chalker to set up a military relief operation.

Yesterday, British charities agreed to launch a co-ordinated appeal to help the cyclone victims. They are confident that the new initiative will be a success despite continuing requests for funds to help the Kurds and combat the African famine.

## Bush doctors pin blame on thyroid

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Bush's doctors have ended the scare over his health by identifying a mildly overactive thyroid gland as the cause of his irregular heartbeat, a condition they say is easily treatable.

Mr Bush, who was "elated" that the cause was nothing more serious, briefly revisited the Bethesda Naval Hospital early yesterday morning for the first of a series of tests to determine the best treatment. He then returned to the White House and hit out at the sustained criticism of Dan Quayle, the vice-president, whose competence to stand in for him has resurfaced as an issue, and at renewed allegations that Mr Bush privately met the Iranians in 1980 to delay the release of 52 American hostages until after the election that November of Ronald Reagan as president. Mr Bush reiterated his determination to have Mr Quayle as his 1992 running mate, saying he was "getting a bum rap in the press, pounding on him when he's doing a first-class job". He had told Mr Quayle to "keep your head up", recalling that he had

himself endured eight years of mockery while vice-president. Mr Bush denied any contact with the Iranians, calling the allegations against himself "grossly untrue, factually incorrect, bald-faced lies".

The Wall Street Journal yesterday published details of Mr Bush's schedule on the days he was allegedly meeting the Iranians in Paris and the president said that the rumour-mongers "ought to have the honour to say this takes care of it".

As he spoke, congressional Democrats were privately meeting Abol Hassan Bani-Sadr, the former Iranian president, to help them determine whether a formal investigation of the "October Surprise" charges should be instigated. Mr Bush, in addition to digoxin and procainamide, drugs designed to steady his heartbeat, has now been prescribed coumadin, an anticoagulant which should prevent the formation of blood clots which are occasionally caused by atrial fibrillation and can lead to strokes.

Medical briefing, page 15

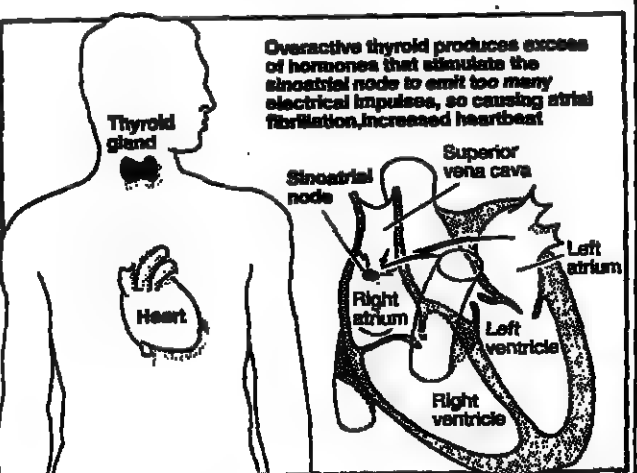
## Diagnosis explains presidential moods

PRESIDENT Bush's overactive thyroid gives insights into his mood and behaviour as well as explaining his irregular heartbeat (Thomas Prentice writes).

The hormonal condition often compels people who suffer from it to keep active by working harder or taking more physical exercise. They are restless and unable to leave

decisions to others. The thyroid gland, shaped rather like a butterfly, lies in the neck and consists of two lobes that rest on either side of the Adam's apple.

The gland secretes hormones that are essential for heart function and help regulate the body's energy levels. They also affect mood and mental alertness.



## Miami's exiles fear Tontons Macoute hitmen are in town

FROM ALAN TOMLINSON IN MIAMI

TWO involved murders of Haitian radio stars have left Miami police suspecting, and the Haitian exile community here convinced, that former members of the Tontons Macoute, the disbanded Haitian secret police organisation, are operating in the city's Little Haiti district as political hitmen and guns for hire.

The killings, each carried out with professional coolness by a lone gunman, possibly using the same weapon, are the latest mystery to grip Miami, where politics, drugs, plots and vendettas are the daily fare.

The first victim, Jean-Claude Olivier, aged 47, was a nightclub performer and talkshow host on one of Miami's three Haitian-language radio stations. Known

professionally as Division Star, the burly trumpet player was not very political, although he often denounced the presence in the city of former henchmen of the ousted dictatorship of the Duvalier family.

When he was shot dead outside a club in February, those who knew him suspected at first that a cocaine deal or a jealous husband may have been behind it. Suspicions grew when police found voodoo symbols, candles, beads and a dead chicken on his grave.

The second victim a month later was Fritz Dor, aged 33, a highly outspoken radio reporter and an active supporter of President Aristide, the radical priest-turned-leader in Haiti who has promised to bring the

Tontons Macoute to justice for past crimes. Hundreds of former members of the former secret police have fled to Miami by plane and boat since Father Aristide was elected last year, according to Haitian community leaders here.

Miami police have set up a special taskforce to investigate the murders, but detectives admit they have made little progress after six weeks and 2,000 interviews. They have found Haitian politics mystifying and the exile community impenetrable.

Detectives have been unable to confirm a political link to the killings but they suspect that out-of-work Tontons Macoute may indeed be operating in Miami as hired assassins for anyone needing a hitman.



Boy among the men: Alexander Karyee, aged 13, reportedly top sharpshooter in the Liberian United Defence Force, showing off his assault rifle at Kenema, Sierra Leone. His unit is fighting Charles Taylor's rival Liberian guerrillas

## Mandela counsel attacks 'smear campaign'

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

FALSE allegations by unknown people were made against Winnie Mandela to destroy her reputation and protect the Rev Paul Verryn, the minister in charge of a Methodist church manse in Soweto, George Bizos, her defence counsel, claimed in

the Rand supreme court in Johannesburg yesterday. Mrs Mandela, aged 56, Mrs Xoliswa Felat, aged 37, and John Morgan, aged 61, have pleaded not guilty to kidnapping three young men and Stompie Seipei, aged 14, from the manse and assaulting

them at her Soweto home on December 29, 1989. Mr Bizos said newspaper articles, submitted as exhibits, and Mrs Mandela's own evidence showed that unknown persons had fed false information to the committee investigating allegations of sexual

misconduct at the manse, with the innuendo that she was responsible for the boy's death and that of a Soweto doctor, Abubakar Asvat. Mrs Mandela claims that she was several hundred miles from Soweto at the time of the alleged assault.

## Suicide protests in Seoul

Seoul — A fourth dissident committed suicide and more than 3,000 anti-government demonstrators fought police with steel pipes and firebombs as protests grew against President Roh Tae Woo's rule.

Kim Ki Sol, aged 25, set himself on fire with paint thinner and jumped from a university building to his death. "Let's overthrow the Roh Tae Woo regime," he shouted as the flames engulfed him, witnesses said.

Police have declared illegal protests planned for today. The violence was triggered by the fatal police beating of a student on April 26. (Reuters)

## Glazed days

Sydney — Australians will have to wear spacesuits and live in glass-topped cities by 2060 if science cannot stop the thinning of the ozone layer, which absorbs carcinogenic ultraviolet rays, Professor Bill McCarthy, a skin cancer expert, said. Australians have the highest incidence of skin cancer. (Reuters)

## 147 miners die

Peking — A pit blast at Sanjiao River in the northern Chinese province of Shanxi killed all 147 coalminers, the country's worst mining disaster in 30 years, the official Xinhua news agency said. News of the disaster on April 21 was only reported yesterday.

## Escape claws

Melbourne — The council controlling Sherbrooke Forest near here imposed a night curfew on cats to protect wildlife. Owners who fail to lock up their pets face a £45 fine. (AP)

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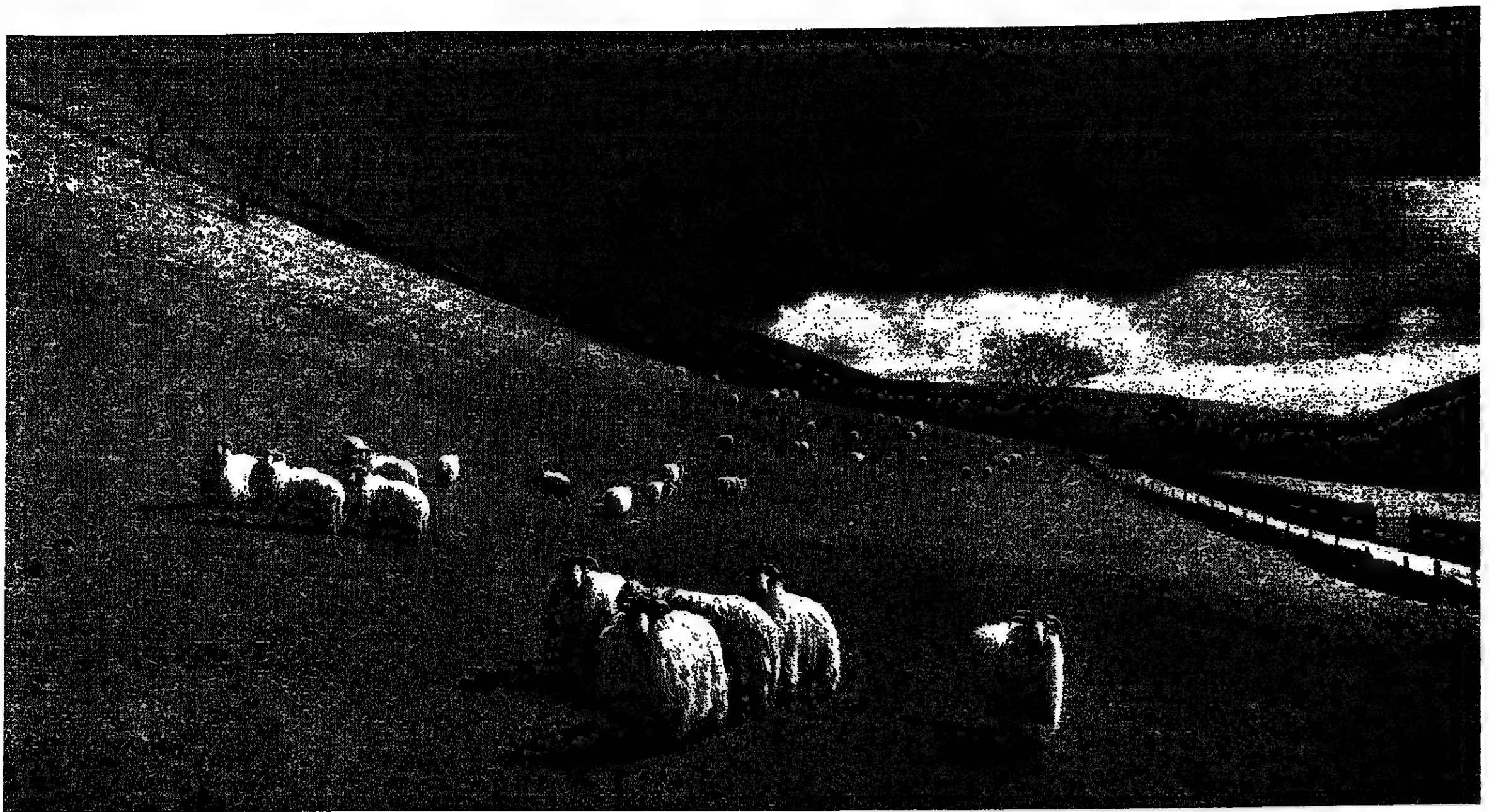
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صندوق البريد



# Tito partisan and priest's son duel over future of Yugoslavia



Milosevic: favoured an autonomous Croatia

THE future of Yugoslavia hinges on the critical relationship between the country's two largest nationalities, the Serbs and the Croats, and the duel between the embattled presidents of the two republics, Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

The politicians are a study in contrasts. Dr Tudjman, who visited London on Tuesday, is the son of a communist, a trained military historian. He was a senior officer in Tito's partisan army, who became one of the ideological leaders of the "Croatian spring" in the early 1970s and was then twice jailed under Tito. He eventually became a fervent anti-communist. Dr Tudjman, like Tito, comes from the Croatian province of Zagorje but he rarely talks about a unified Yugoslavia: for him, the future is an autonomous Croatia.

Mr Milosevic is the son of an Orthodox priest — defrocked, according to some accounts — and

Relations between Serbia and Croatia have always been difficult. But their contrasting presidents now have no choice but to negotiate or face bloodshed, Roger Boyes writes

comes from the post-partisan generation. He was born in 1941, pursued a political-cum-bureaucratic career as an industrial manager and bank director, and now as president of Yugoslavia's most powerful republic, finds it difficult to shed his communist beliefs.

But the two leaders share at least one characteristic: they are power politicians who mobilise nationalist sentiments when under fire at home and invoke the spirit of compromise when abroad. A Serbian communist had criticised the Croatian leader as representing "the efficient executives who 45 years ago had Mussolini and Hitler to help them". The Croat leadership,

in turn, talks about the mad bolshevism of Mr Milosevic. Despite the rhetoric, the two men understand each other.

When they met last March in Tito's former hunting lodge at Karadjordjevo it was a tense time for Mr Milosevic as weeks of anti-communist protests had demonstrated that the Serbian leader was no longer firmly in control. At the lodge, Mr Milosevic was all smiles and was anxious to protect his political flank. According to the Belgrade daily, *Borba*, the result was a political carve-up between Serbia and Croatia.

The report said Croatia would not block Serbian attempts to

unseat Ante Markovic, the federal prime minister, and would respect Serbian authority over the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. In return Serbia would not interfere in Croatia's internal affairs, providing the Serb minority was treated justly, according to Croatian and federal laws. This reported agreement, never substantially denied, unsettled the rest of Yugoslavia and the Serbs in Croatia who have been on and off the barricades ever since.

This time round, Mr Milosevic is in no particular hurry to defuse the conflict. And Mr Tudjman, under pressure from his more extremist followers, is looking very uncomfortable. Relations between Serbs and Croats have always been difficult — ever since the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes united under one monarch in 1918. Roman Catholic Croatia had been under Habsburg rule while Eastern Orthodox Serbia had laboured under nearly five centuries of Ottoman

domination: these cultural differences are not easily bridged. Yet, compromises have been possible.

The reorganisation of Yugoslavia on the eve of the second world war was initiated by an agreement between Serbia's Dragisa Cvetkovic and Croatia's Vlatko Macek. Today, there are many political games afoot, spurred by Serbian communists who want to prevent or delay the handover of the leadership of the collective presidency to Croatia next week. But in the current Serbo-Croat relationship the only choice is between blood and compromise. If the army declares emergency in Croatia, Croats will fight and there will be a civil war that no one, least of all the army, wants. If Croatia formally secedes from Yugoslavia, then Serbia will be free to pursue its plans for a greater Serbia, sucking in the territory and redrawing frontiers to include the Serbian minorities. That, too, means bloodshed.



Milosevic: pressured to form greater Serbia

## British tourists move to safety

By BILL FROST

BRITISH holidaymakers were moved yesterday from seaside resorts in the troubled Yugoslav province of Croatia. The travel company Yugotours took the decision to transfer them after advice from the Foreign Office.

Tourists staying at hotels in Vodic, Trogir, Primosten, Sibenik and Split were taken to alternative accommodation on the Dalmatian coast. Alison Gray of Yugotours said: "We moved 146 clients to Makarska and Baska Voda as a precautionary measure."

Yugotours has 4,500 British holidaying in the country at the moment, and a further 375,000 are expected there in the high season. The company said yesterday that some clients had cancelled summer bookings to Yugoslavia.

The holidaymakers moved yesterday were surprised to be told that they were in a trouble spot, according to Yugotours. They had been unaware of any tension in Croatia. Yesterday the company was emphasising that the tension was confined to a small area and British tourists were not at risk.

Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, yesterday appealed to the Yugoslav authorities to solve their problems through peaceful negotiations. "Force cannot be the answer to the country's political problems. In a time of tension, the Yugoslav national army has some responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, but the national army should act within the constitution and in the interests of all Yugoslavs," he said.

Mr Hurd said that Yugoslavia's relations with Britain and the European Community would depend on progress towards democracy and economic reform. "We are following developments with grave concern," he said.

## Bosnians keep up blockade as national leaders talk

By TIM JUDAH IN PLAVNA, VOJVODINA AND DESSA, TREVISAN IN BELGRADE

TENSION flared in Bosnia for a second day yesterday, when the residents of Lisic blocked the passage of a military convoy through their town. The blockade came as the leaders of Yugoslavia continued their apparently fruitless discussions about how to keep the country together and the federal army again warned leaders of the feuding republics to resolve their differences or grant it special power to do the job for them. Bosnia-Herzegovina is split roughly equally between Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs.

The situation along the Croatian-Serbian border remained tense yesterday. The army controls three bridges across the Danube. Yesterday morning at the Backa Palanka bridge, northwest of Belgrade, armoured vehicles were parked at either end. On the Croatian side a policeman undid a large Croatian flag and affixed it behind a road sign before being told to return to his car further down the road by soldiers.

At the isolated Plavna ferry landing stage, which is in Vojvodina, Serbia's northern province, and situated across the Danube from the Croatian town of Vukovar, Serb women and children were taking the small ferry boats. Hundreds of Serb refugees have been reported to be fleeing from Croatia. One woman said: "My husband was told that if he came back to Vukovar he will be shot so we moved to my mother-in-law's on this side of the river. There have also been all sorts of strangers appearing in town and there are far too many guns about."

daughters was taking the ferry back to Vukovar. She said: "I'm going over to see if things have quietened down, if they have, I will stay."

At the muddy landing stage a Serbian police car was parked facing the Croatian shore. Inside a policeman was scanning the opposite bank with a telescope. In case of emergency he was equipped with a rifle and a military field telephone. Milen Culibrk, who described himself as a civilian volunteer, was one of several Serb men congregating at the miserable Carda cafe next to the landing stage. "We're watching them and they're watching us," he said.

The deputy defence minister, Admiral Stane Brovet, told the federal parliament's defence council, that the way the army had until now been trying to head off ethnic conflict was "now exhausted". The clashes, he said, "were continuing daily and assuming alarming proportions... of a civil war."

The military, which normally attends the meetings of the federal presidency when it concerns matters of defence and security, has left the current talks. This raises the question of whether it still regards this body as its collective commander-in-chief.

Within the federal presidency the army's call for a state of emergency is backed only by Serbia and its ally, Montenegro. The other republics are arguing that the politicians have still not been given enough time to come up with a workable new political framework.

European ideal, page 18



Rights of passage: Kathleen Fletcher of New Jersey and her newly adopted Romanian baby, Simona, join a protest in Bucharest by 20 American women who are demanding exit visas, refused by the authorities, for their children

## Militant Soviet miners stay out on strike

AFTER a ten-week stoppage which changed the political landscape of the Soviet Union, most of the country's striking miners are drifting, willingly or sullenly, back to the pits. But pockets of stubborn resistance remain among both organizers and workers (Bruce Clark writes from Moscow).

Strike leaders from the town of Leninskuznetsky yesterday stormed out of a meeting of labour leaders in Western Siberia, the heartland of the Soviet coal industry, when a consensus emerged in favour of a return to work.

Two of the most influential miners in Siberia's Kuzbass region — Anatoly Malykhin and Vyacheslav Golikov — are close political allies of Boris Yeltsin, and they have backed the Russian leader's claim that President Gorbachev has conceded enough to warrant halting the strike.

Other more militant figures such as Pavel Shushpanov, the chairman of the Moscow-based Independent Miners Union, are thought to be more sceptical, and bitter that the strikes were badly organized from the start.

By the far the most important concession from Mr Gorbachev is his blessing of a plan to transfer the mines of the Russian Federation from the direct control of the central Soviet authorities to the loose supervision of Mr Yeltsin's administration. This is part of a wider transfer of economic and political power that Mr Gorbachev agreed with regional leaders last month, under pressure from a wave of labour unrest and popular discontent.

Yeltsin's administration. This is part of a wider transfer of economic and political power that Mr Gorbachev agreed with regional leaders last month, under pressure from a wave of labour unrest and popular discontent.

## Spain tries again on Gibraltar

London — Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish prime minister, said that he had put forward new proposals for breaking the deadlock over Gibraltar, and John Major's response had been "open-minded" (Michael Binyon writes).

However, Señor Gonzalez said that unless there was evidence soon of real progress — which for Madrid entails discussion of Gibraltar's sovereignty — his government would have to rethink its policy. He denied he was making threats or reverting to an aggressive attitude over the Rock, but he said the current impasse could not be allowed to continue. Spain could afford to be patient.

## Stocks eaten up

Bonn — Ninety thousand tonnes of German food aid from west Berlin to the Soviet Union during the winter has almost exhausted huge stocks of food first established in the city in 1948 and 1949 as a precaution against a Soviet blockade, the agricultural ministry said. (AFP)

## Treasurer fined

Düsseldorf — Walther Leisler Kiep, the treasurer of the Christian Democratic Union of Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, was fined £227,000 for organising a ten-year scheme illegally to channel firms' donations into the party's coffers. (AFP)

## Shevardnadze tells of hardline assault

FROM CHARLES BRENNER IN NEW YORK

EDUARD Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, has described how his sense of betrayal over the failure of President Gorbachev's reforms led him to resign abruptly last December.

Pressed by journalists on a visit to America this week, a bitter Mr Shevardnadze said that he had been the target of an unrelenting assault by hardliners in the Communist party and government who accused him of selling out Soviet interests to the West. Mr Shevardnadze said in December that he was resigning because he feared the onset of dictatorship but his interview with editors of *The Washington Post* was the first detailed account of the Soviet infighting that drove him from office.

"I was criticised for Eastern Europe — for bringing down the whole structure of the socialist commonwealth, the Warsaw Pact, for bringing it down into ruins. I was criticised for withdrawing troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and for taking the decision in principle to withdraw troops from Poland as well," he said.

"I was accused not only of destroying the socialist commonwealth but also of eliminating that cordon sanitaire, that buffer group of countries that stood between us and Western Europe."

"I was criticised for giving preference to general humanitarian values in foreign policy as opposed to class values or national values. I was told this

was a departure from Marxist-Leninist principles," he added. "What happened was that nobody defended me — nobody rejected these criticisms."

Mr Gorbachev, his friend and patron, was preoccupied with the domestic crisis and reformist forces were divided and defensive, Mr Shevardnadze said. "What I did was to protest in the most radical way available to me. I felt that the interests of perestroika and the ongoing democratisation of the country were more important than my own personal interest. I wanted to warn everybody what was impending and I especially wanted to warn the democratic movement."

Events since December had proved his fears to be well founded. He believed that the Kremlin had "missed the boat" in its attempts to negotiate a solution with the Baltic republics.



Shevardnadze: accused of selling out to the West

## Bush gives backing to Gorbachev

FROM REUTER IN WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Bush strongly defended the embattled President Gorbachev yesterday and said he did not want to see a breach in the relationship between the two superpowers.

"When you look at the accomplishments of Mikhail Gorbachev they are enormous," Mr Bush said. "I am not about to forget history... I don't want to see a breach in a relationship... that's served us extraordinarily well in recent times."

However, Mr Bush said no decision had been made on Mr Gorbachev's request for an extension of \$1.5 billion (£872 million) in American farm export credits to the Soviet Union. "We have to be sure we abide by the rules as established. I think the agriculture department has to make certain representations," Mr Bush said.

Mr Bush's defence of Mr Gorbachev came hours before he was scheduled to meet the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. He repeated that America has never recognised the incorporation of the three Baltic republics into the Soviet Union and said that he would urge a "peaceful resolution" of the issues.

In a brief session with reporters in the White House press room, President Bush made no mention of a possible summit date with Mr Gorbachev.

● MOSCOW: Neither Mr Gorbachev nor the Soviet foreign ministry is happy with the state of Soviet-US relations, judging by the flurry of

diplomacy this week (Mary Dejevsky writes). The difficulty is that most of the remedies lie in Moscow's hands and Mr Gorbachev's room for manoeuvre is limited by constraints from the military and nationalist-minded republics.

Unfortunately for the Soviet leader, superpower relations at present have a strong military element and Washington has recently shown less caution in its relations with the republics.

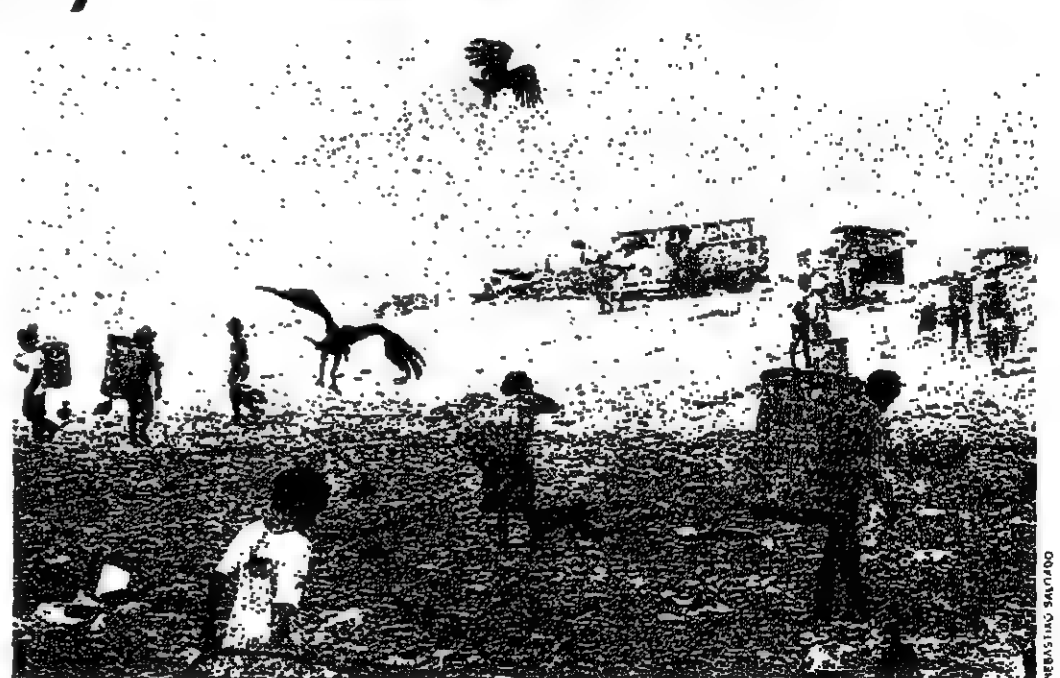
The main obstacle on the military side is Soviet compliance with the treaty on reducing conventional forces in Europe. The Western signatories are worried that Moscow redesignated three army divisions as naval divisions and moved thousands of tanks out of range of the treaty.

On the Soviet side, Moscow's prime concern has been a speedy conclusion of the treaty on strategic nuclear weapons, the signing of which it sees as the centrepiece of the next superpower summit. In Moscow's view, Washington has been dragging its feet on the question because of its fondness for the Strategic Defence Initiative ("Star Wars") project in one form or other.

A state department disclosure on Tuesday that the Soviet Union is building a new radar station near Komсомolsk-on-Amur in the Far East suggests difficulties in these talks, too.

Leading article, page 19

## Do you believe in life before death?



Do you believe no one should have to scavenge for a living?

Do you believe education is a right, not a privilege?

Do you believe 40,000 child deaths per day is 40,000 too many?

Do you believe immunisation is as vital in India as it is in Ipswich?

Do you believe the poor have a right to make their own decisions?

Do you believe seven years old is too young to work in a mine?

Do you believe third world farmers have a right to eat what they grow?

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# Media men turn minder for the minders in a safe haven



Saddam: a moustache that all the minders copied

POWER is a very fluid concept in northern Iraq, and a group of Iraqi government employees had a sour taste of how quickly their could be lost when they blithely wandered into a Kurdish refugee camp inside the safe haven.

Although the Iraqi government has lifted censorship on Western reporters working from Baghdad, it still requires minders from the information ministry to accompany media personnel on excursions beyond the capital.

The arrangement is said to be for our safety, and in fairness, it would be difficult to pass through the myriad of checkpoints along Iraq's highways without the few deft words from the officials.

The relationship is usually benign. But minders are there

**Saddam's men were useful guiding pressmen through checkpoints, but the Kurds had no time for "spies" from Baghdad, Adam Kelliber reports**

to control and regulate information. A minder can cause citizens to stop talking, or offer the government line, and can guide a press group away from disagreeable sights.

During a visit to northern Iraq a typical confrontation between the press and officialdom began in Dohuk, where our minders refused to allow us to venture to the outskirts of town to verify reports that American troops were poised to take over. This did not go down very well, particularly as reporters from the Turkish

side were free to go where they wanted.

But our pleas failed to move the minder, so we proceeded north to the town of Zakho. The American and Spanish troops manning checkpoints at the edge of town searched our cars for weapons and had no qualms about a party from Baghdad.

We then encountered two roadblocks run by peshmarga guerrillas, but even they were not concerned and we passed through to a large refugee camp on Zakho's outskirts to

catalogue human misery in the bustling tent city.

After only ten minutes, things went wrong.

A squad of young men brandishing steel pipes arrived. "We know all the faces of the spies of Baghdad," said one of the furious team gesturing to our minders, who incidentally had moustaches similar to that of President Saddam Hussein. "They are all secret police."

It was a difficult thing to dispute. The crowd mushroomed from 10 to 30 to 50, and became increasingly agitated. Unfortunately, the minders did not respond in uniform fashion.

One car immediately drove off, its occupant and driver wanting to avoid trouble. Others fell silent, but one in

particular chose to stand his ground, perhaps trying to prove Baghdad's sovereignty. He arrogantly ate potato chips with a nonchalant look, refusing to move as the hostility mounted.

The situation worsened when one of our party, a Palestinian journalist of well-known anti-American views, started a poorly timed confrontation with the Kurds, bellowing at them: "Has Bush told you not to let us take pictures?"

By now, the Western press were minding the minders. The Americans asked us exactly who the Iraqis were. We insisted they were only doing their job.

"The word is spreading like wildfire and there could be a



riot," one of the soldiers hissed. "If I were you, I would get the hell out of here."

After some cajoling we managed to drive away, but had to stop outside the camp because one reporter was missing. While we waited, more peshmarga arrived and the confrontation erupted again.

At this stage several mind-

ers discreetly disposed of their ministry identity cards. American soldiers arrived and once more defused the situation, and we were escorted out of town, after being told off by a marine sergeant for paying a provocative visit that could derail efforts to give the Kurds enough confidence to leave the mountains for the havens.

As we sped away from Zakho, the minders having experienced first-hand the depth of Kurdish anger, the mood was one of relief, with much pondering over what might have occurred if the soldiers had not saved the Iraqis and Kurds from each other.

"We could have been knifed there," muttered one official. "They are crazy. They make trouble for all Iraqi men."

## Iraq pledges to bring in multiparty democracy

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

IRAQ has irrevocably decided to adopt a democratic, multiparty constitution following the Gulf war, Tariq Aziz, the deputy prime minister, said in an interview published yesterday.

Baghdad hoped quickly to complete an agreement on autonomy for Iraq's 3.5 million Kurds which would pave the way for direct elections to a new National Assembly. Saddam Hussein, now president for life, would stand for election every seven years. The Revolutionary Command Council would be abolished and the Baath party would surrender its 23-year monopoly on power, Mr Aziz told

*The Washington Post*. But in a separate development a top Bush administration official has explicitly stated for the first time that Washington intends to maintain strict economic sanctions against Iraq until Saddam is forced from power.

"All possible sanctions will be maintained until he is gone. Any easing of sanctions will be considered only when there is a new government," said Robert Gates, the deputy national security adviser, in a speech on Tuesday night in Vancouver which was cleared by the White House. Saddam "cannot be redeemed".

This policy would appear to exceed the terms of the United Nations ceasefire resolution which allowed for the gradual lifting of sanctions as Iraq met demands for war reparations and disarmament. Whether international support could be sustained over a long period of time is doubtful, especially if the Iraqi regime does indeed take the steps outlined by Mr Aziz.

It also emerged yesterday that Muhammad al-Mashat, the Iraqi ambassador in Washington and one of Saddam's principal foreign spokesmen in the run-up to the war, has sought and been granted permission to live in Canada. After he was ordered to leave Washington in January Dr al-Mashat failed to return to Iraq and stayed instead in Vienna, claiming that his wife needed medical treatment there.

Mr Aziz's promises of reform will be treated with scepticism in Washington, but he said the highest priority of Iraq's postwar government was to rebuild the economy as rapidly as possible to restore social and political stability.

## Turkey says allies arming Kurds

FROM ANDREW FINKELE IN ISTANBUL

GENERAL Dogan Gurez, the Turkish chief of staff, has alleged that allied forces operating out of Turkey may be providing arms as well as relief to the Kurds being resettled in northern Iraq.

After a tour of the border on Tuesday, General Gurez said he was aware that foreign troops were moving guns and artillery across the Turkish border with Iraq and that it was "a possibility that Kurds were receiving those arms".

He said: "In that case we say to our politicians 'let's ask where the weapons are going'. Arms now being stockpiled at Diyarbakir airport for allied troops would not be forwarded unless procedures were followed, he said.

About ten American lorries, reported to have been carrying ammunition, were turned back from the official Turkish border checkpoint with Iraq for lack of proper documentation. Helicopters flying out of the Turkish town of Silopi into Iraq are now having their loads monitored more carefully. According to one newspaper, the American military spokesman in Silopi, Lieutenant-Colonel Bob Flocke, had accused the Turkish authorities of creating obstructions.

Turkish irritation at the free operations of about 19,000 allied troops along the Turkish-Iraqi border climaxed last week when British Marines were alleged to have prevented a government official from inspecting a refugee camp. In an interview in yesterday's *Hurriyet* newspaper, General Gurez revealed his annoyance at the incident.

His plain-speaking was an indication of the military's concern for the security of its frontier and the future of what is being referred to as *Bushistan* — the Kurdish safe enclave which allied forces are carving out in northern Iraq.

Turkey fears that such a Kurdish enclave will act as a beacon to the aspirations of its own Kurdish population. These fears are balanced by the knowledge that the economic future of northern Iraq is now more than ever in Turkish hands. Not only does Turkey control the land border but also Iraq's one remaining outlet for its oil exports.

In Ankara yesterday, a foreign ministry spokesman said the quantity of arms which may have reached northern Iraq were not yet sufficient to cause real concern.



Warrior class: new women recruits to the People's Mujahedin are briefed on a Soviet-made tank by a member of the military organisation, which is opposed to the Iranian regime, at Saleh camp, 30 miles inside Iraq, during a remembrance ceremony for those killed during the Iran-Iraq war

## Tehran adds smoking to banned list

By MICHAEL BINYON

THE world is becoming an ever more dangerous place for the smoker. Iran, a specialist in kiljooy legislation, has now come up with the ultimate attack on this Western vice: smoking is to be banned virtually throughout the country, and smokers will be forbidden to take any government job.

All cigarette and tobacco production is to be phased out. Smoking will be prohibited in public places, government buildings, buses and factories.

Smoking thus joins alcohol, immodest dress and pop music as sinful indulgences to be eradicated by Tehran from daily life.



About turn: an elderly Kurdish woman, her meagre possessions strapped to her back, walking down from a mountain retreat, near Shranish, to an allied refugee camp in Zakho, northern Iraq

## Superpowers try to galvanize peace talks

By MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

IN AN unusual swirl of Middle East diplomacy, the two superpowers have sent their foreign ministers on tours of the Middle East at the same time, in a co-ordinated attempt to put pressure on the Arabs and Israelis to begin peace negotiations.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the Soviet foreign minister, arrived yesterday in Damascus at the start of a five-nation tour that will include Israel, where he will pay the first ministerial visit since Moscow broke relations in 1967. James Baker, the US secretary of State, sets out tomorrow on his fourth Middle East trip in two months. The two will meet in Cairo on Sunday to compare notes and demonstrate their joint determination to break the impasse.

Both Washington and Moscow believe these visits may offer a last chance for a negotiated peace in the region. Mr Baker returned abruptly from Israel for his mother's funeral two weeks ago, insisting that progress had been made. But the Israeli government subsequently withdrew the concessions agreed in talks with David Levy, the foreign minister. Mr Baker's frustration was evident when he snubbed the Israeli government by cancelling a formal invitation to Ariel Sharon, the hawkish housing minister, to meet the US secretary of housing and urban development in his office.

The White House acknowledged that little had come of Mr Baker's first three visits. Last week administration of-

ficials suggested that he was ready to abandon his "two-track" policy that he unveiled in March, under which efforts to promote Israeli-Palestinian negotiations would be accompanied by simultaneous efforts to convene direct talks between Israel and individual Arab states. Instead, he would simply try to convene negotiations between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Mr Baker has given no hint that he now sees a new opening. But there have been intensive exchanges with the Russians, including a visit to the White House by Eduard Shevardnadze, the former foreign minister. His successor went out of his way yesterday to praise Mr Baker's patience and diplomacy in seeking peace in the region. Mr Baker and his Soviet opposite number will meet again in Portugal on May 31, where they will witness the signing of the Angola peace accord.

Mr Bessmertnykh said on arrival in Damascus that the Soviet Union was not abandoning its traditional support for the Arabs. "We support the rights of the Palestinian people. We believe there should be a just settlement."

Behind the scenes, however, he is likely to tell President Assad of Syria that Moscow will not provide him with arms on the previous scale, and that he cannot count on automatic Soviet backing for his hard line over the opening of an international peace conference. The main focus of Mr Bessmertnykh's visit will be

his talks in Israel, which are widely expected to signal the resumption soon of diplomatic relations. The Shamir government made this a prerequisite of any Soviet participation in a peace conference. By making such a visit, and by liberalising emigration laws in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin hopes to extract corresponding concessions from the Israelis.

Mr Bessmertnykh said yesterday that he would be pressing the Israelis for a just settlement. His joint appearance with Mr Baker is likely to be seen in Jerusalem as a dangerous sign that the superpowers may try to enforce a settlement on the region.

After Damascus, he will go to Jordan, Israel, Egypt and Lebanon. He will also meet Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, during his tour, possibly in Amman. Israel wants Moscow to abandon its backing of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Both Mr Bessmertnykh and Mr Baker will have tough talks in Israel over the government's continuing policy of encouraging settlements.

## Rebels say talks are progressing

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN BAGHDAD

PRESIDENT Saddam Hussein yesterday met Kurdish leaders who are in the Iraqi capital for talks on an autonomy package aimed at luring millions of Kurdish refugees back from the mountains of Turkey and Iran to their homes in northern Iraq.

Sources in the Kurdish delegation said the talks were going well and predicted a deal would be reached soon.

Iraqi television showed pictures of the Iraqi leader smiling and shaking hands with Mahsoud Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party and chief delegate of the four-man Kurdish team. It was the first meeting between Saddam and the Kurds since April 24, when the first round of negotiations were concluded.

## CIA chief in surprise decision to retire

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

WILLIAM Webster, the director of the American Central Intelligence Agency since 1987, surprised Washington by announcing his retirement yesterday, but it was not clear whether his departure was entirely voluntary.

Mr Webster, aged 67, gave no particular reason for his decision beyond sheer length of service and there had been

recent rumours that he might be replaced. "You hate to leave, but something tells me it is a good time to leave," he told reporters, adding that he would "pursue other avenues in the private sector".

President Bush, himself a former director of the CIA, said Mr Webster had done a "superb job", but his aides have not always been so kind. The *Washington Post* ran a celebrated story in October 1989, saying that senior administration officials were increasingly frustrated with his ineffective performance and had begun talking about replacing him.

No replacement has yet been announced, but two names being touted were those of Robert Gates, the deputy national security adviser, whom Mr Bush yesterday called a "worthy man", and James Lilley, US ambassador to China.

The quality of the CIA's intelligence gathering has been questioned at various points in the recent past, most notably during the Panama invasion and after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait last August. CIA sources later insisted that the intelligence they provided was not acted on, and many insiders say CIA intelligence during the war itself was outstanding.

No date has been set for Mr Webster's retirement.

## White Russians fear detente will breach Jerusalem refuge

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN JERUSALEM

NOT everyone in Jerusalem will be pleased to see Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the Soviet foreign minister, arrive tomorrow. The city's dwindling White Russian community, which has kept alive one of the last tsarist outposts in the world, fears that the imminent restoration of links between the Soviet Union and Israel could mean the end of their tenure.

Of all the foreign Christian powers which bought land and established settlements in Jerusalem in the last century, none left its mark more indelibly than Russia, whose churches, hostels, monasteries and convents still dominate the skyline today.

From the green cupolas of St

Trinity cathedral in the west Jerusalem neighbourhood known as the Russian compound to the Russian Orthodox Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Jerusalem is dotted with Russian landmarks set in key religious sites and belonging to the Church and the Russian government.

But the question which has plagued successive administrations in the Holy Land since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is which of the competing churches to recognise. The Soviet Union was one of the first countries to recognise Israel's existence when it was formed in 1948. The "Red" Russian church was accordingly granted custody of the church lands in Israel west Jerusalem.

Some buildings, like the police station which was battered away in

1964 for Jaffa oranges, were sold to the Israeli government. But others, like the High Court of Justice, are still held by Moscow.

When Mr Bessmertnykh arrives he may well raise the issue of other lands and buildings claimed by the Soviet government, including the home of Grand Duke Sergei, brother of the last tsar. The building is occupied by the Israeli Conservation Society. Other Russian lands in Israel, from the coastal town of Jaffa to the shores of Lake Tiberias in the north, may also one day be returned as relations grow warmer.

However, the far thornier question is the future of the "White" Russian church lands in the old city of Jerusalem, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, Hebron and Bethany. Under British mandate, tsarist emigres were

allowed to keep control of the church properties because of London's animosity towards the new communist state. After 1948, the



status quo remained when east Jerusalem and the West Bank were captured by Israel in 1967.

Although the tsarist church in exile, based in New York, has shrunk in size and influence, it has continued to be supported politically and financially by Western governments and Russian emigres.

With the restoration of full diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union only a matter of time, it seems increasingly likely that the "White" church may have outgrown its purpose.

Christian officials in Jerusalem believe that the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow will finally, after a separation of nearly 80 years, reunite with the White Russian church and that once again the disputed lands will revert to Moscow's control.



# The breast that money can buy

Women still want surgeons to improve on nature despite the risks.  
Liz Gill reports good news and bad news in implant surgery

Plastic surgeon Peter Davis always gives women wanting breast implants a full rundown of the potential hazards. "I talk about the risk of infection, the chances of capsular contraction where the breast becomes hard and sometimes painful. And they say: 'OK, when can you do it?'"

The determination of some women to achieve the breasts nature denied them or fate robbed them of through disease is remarkable. In the United States 700,000 women have had implants following surgery for cancer, 1.3 million for augmentation. The rate is now 135,000 a year, one woman in 50.

But recently a leaked report from the American Food and Drug Administration (FDA), which is looking at all the implants on the market, has questioned their safety. It was suggested that FDA scientists had discovered that the polyurethane coating surrounding the MEM and Replicon brands of implant could break down in the body into the chemical 2-toluene diamine, or TDA, a substance shown to cause liver cancer in laboratory rats. The manufacturer of the implants, Surgitek, halted distribution worldwide, pending completion of the FDA's report.

The report is not due for another week, but last week a spokesman for the FDA said that any risk would be very small and did not warrant the removal of implants, although the administration has asked surgeons to

delay inserting new ones until the evaluation is completed.

In this country Clover Leaf, the sole distributor for Surgitek, sells about a thousand pairs of polyurethane-coated implants a year. There are no official figures on the total numbers of implants here, but expert estimates put the numbers at between 3,000 and 5,000 a year. Most of the implants used are made in the United States, with a few coming from France. Clover Leaf's managing

*'It's not about pleasing men, it's about themselves in the mirror'*

director, Irene Hay, says: "We are not distributing any more at the moment, though surgeons may have them in stock. Our policy is to be able to offer products with complete confidence, but it does seem all this has created an unnecessary climate of fear."

Although only about 10 per cent of American women who have implants have been given the one in question, increasing numbers of doctors were switching to it as the solution to the problem of capsular contraction, which may occur in scar tissue that forms around an implant and can cause the breast to become hard. The complication can happen in as

many as a third of patients given the older, smooth-shell type of implant (a silicon gel enclosed in a silicon envelope).

A few years ago, however, it was found that covering the envelope with polyurethane to give a textured surface appeared to prevent capsular contraction. A polyurethane-coated implant costs £500 a pair, compared with £150 for the smooth variety.

Tony Watson, the president of the British Association of Plastic Surgeons and a consultant in Edinburgh, believes the FDA is right to be cautious. "But it seems sometimes that almost everything we eat, drink or take can cause cancer in rats," he says. "That does not necessarily relate to tumours in humans."

Donald McNeill, the president of the British Association of Aesthetic Plastic Surgeons, says that no directive on implants has been received from the health department. "I would not be concerned enough to stop doing implants, which can be of enormous help to women," he says, citing an earlier FDA report which said there was no evidence of any increase in a number of conditions including cancer, arthritis, renal failure and autoimmune disorders among women who had implants.

The debate on the pros and cons of implants is clouded by the fact that this branch of surgery is big business (the average cost in Britain is £2,500). "This can be an area complicated by a mixture of commercialism, manufacturers'



Surgical aide: David Sharpe holds the new textured silicone implant (left) and the smooth-shell type

greed and deliberate misinformation," says David Sharpe, a consultant plastic surgeon in West Yorkshire and the director of the research unit at Bradford university set up after the city's football stadium fire.

One solution to any problems with polyurethane may be the arrival of a third type of implant where the silicon envelope itself is textured instead of having a polyurethane coating. In a trial of 106 patients, half were given this type and half the smooth-shell

kind. Mr Sharpe and his team discovered the incidence of contraction in the textured type was reduced to virtually nothing.

He remains, however, an enthusiast for the polyurethane. "Of course the manufacturers would like us to switch again, but it's unfair to brand it as dangerous when there is no real evidence."

Mr Davis estimates that he and his colleagues at St Thomas's hospital have performed about 400 MEM implants during the past few years with uniformly

excellent results. "Maybe women should worry but I don't think it will stop them having this operation. I don't think it's even done to please men. It's about themselves in the changing room mirror."

Surgeons who perform implants believe they can boost morale and confidence in women previously too embarrassed to undress in front of their partners. "I would rather live in a society where appearance was irrelevant," Mr Sharpe says. "But it's easier to change the breast than change society."

## A HISTORY OF IMPLANTS

■ Early breast augmentation techniques in Europe and the US in the Fifties included the dermo-fat graft using a lozenge-shaped piece of flesh from the buttock. The tendency of the fat to liquefy and the dermis to become calcified meant that the breast often shrank, or became hard. Experiments with foam sponges proved similarly unsuccessful. In the late Fifties the French invented the Sirmoplast, a rubber compound balloon filled with water or saline. The risk here was of the plug working loose months or even years after the operation and the breast deflating within hours.

■ In the early Sixties, Thomas Cronin, a respected American plastic surgeon, invented the silastic prosthesis, the precursor of today's implants. It comprised a gel inside a firmer envelope, and had characteristics similar to the real breast. Originally designed for mastectomy patients, it was adopted for cosmetic purposes. Problems of leakage remained, this time of solvents in the gel which caused painful inflammation in the surrounding tissue. Over the next 20 years, various modifications appeared. Particularly successful was the High Performance Silastic II, produced by Dow-Corning in the US. But capsular contraction was a hazard.

■ Polyurethane-coated implants appeared in the late Eighties, with dramatically reduced incidence of contraction. Eighteen months ago implants in which the silicon envelope itself is textured were launched. New surgical techniques now frequently put the implant under the main chest muscle rather than over it.

## Over-active president

PRESIDENT Bush's untypically irritable remarks to aides, inadvertently broadcast, after he had answered press questions on the Iranian hostages, and his slowness and even his boundless energy may have been clues to the cause of his atrial fibrillation, thyrotoxicosis. An over-active thyroid gland always causes a rapid heartbeat and occasionally may also be the cause of atrial fibrillation. Usually, but by no means always, once the thyroid problem has been controlled the heart's rhythm reverts to normal, in which case drugs regulating the heart are no longer needed.

In a man of Mr Bush's age (66), the treatment of an over-active thyroid is likely to be medical rather than surgical, involving radioactive sodium iodine 131 or drugs, either propylthiouracil or carbimazole, often used with propranolol, a beta blocker. Propranolol, particularly useful for immediate relief of symptoms, is used in combination when,



as in the president's case, there is a cardiac arrhythmia.

One disturbing old medical belief is that strokes are slightly more common in patients in whom the atrial fibrillation is caused by thyrotoxicosis than in those in whom it is the result of other causes. Persistent atrial fibrillation can usually be controlled by drugs so that the heart works reasonably efficiently, but the disorganised beat results in the blood

swirling around the chambers so that clots form. Small clots, or fragments of a larger one, may escape into the circulation of the brain, where in a minority of cases they block an artery and cause a stroke.

To assume an overactive thyroid was the only cause of the president's atrial fibrillation would be unwise, for excessive exercise can induce it even in a young man. Perhaps the Western world would sleep easier if Mr Bush heeded the opinion expressed by Francis Bacon more than 400 years ago that age will not be defied, and renounced competitive jogging, volleyball, PT and weight lifting (any exercise which makes a patient grunt is dangerous as it raises the blood pressure), and settled for a brisk daily walk with his spaniels.

## Too quick with the knife

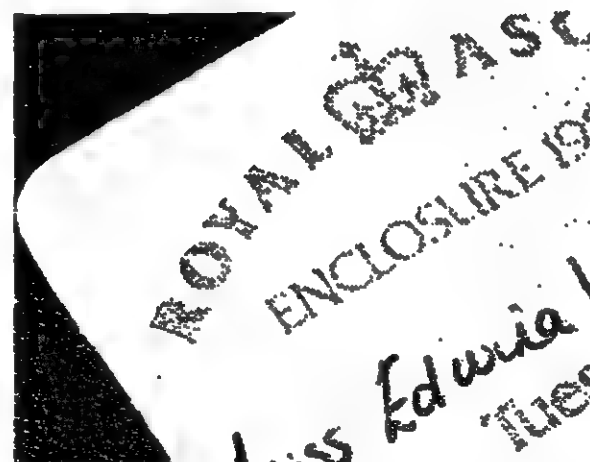


DOCTORS are often goaded into recommending a hysterectomy by the obvious distress caused to patients by heavy periods, but it is now becoming accepted that many resort to surgery too quickly. A hysterectomy carries the risks of any major abdominal surgery: haemorrhage, infection or thromboembolism (clots). Later, patients who have had an early hysterectomy are more likely to suffer heart attacks, strokes, osteoporosis and depression. The British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology has reported on the advantages of laser ablation, the stripping out of the lining of the womb, as opposed to hysterectomy. Patients who have laser ablation suffer only a 30-minute procedure, and spend less than 24 hours in hospital (the average for a post-hysterectomy patient is a week), and they have no post-operative pain (94 per cent of women who have had a hysterectomy suffered pain afterwards). Thirteen per cent of those who were treated with ablation later needed hysterectomy.

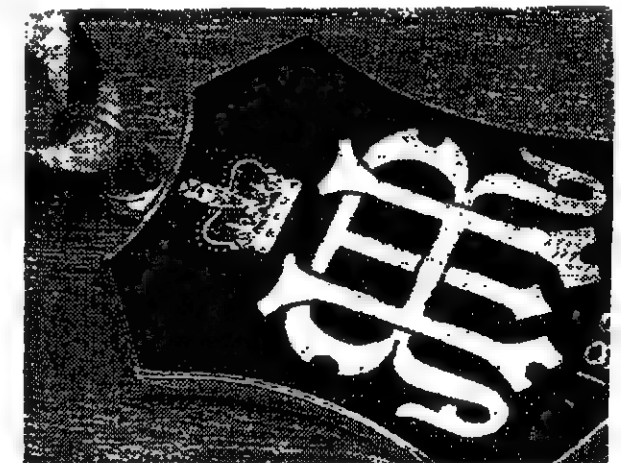
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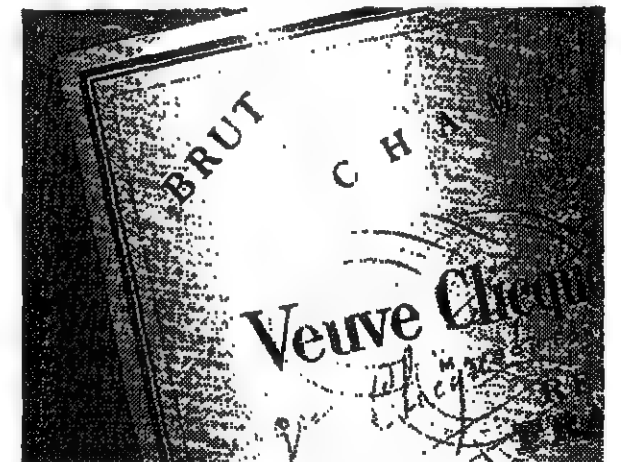
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QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S BALL	23 September
PRIX DE L'ARC DE TRIOMPHE, LONGCHAMP	6 October
THE CANTIER MILLION RACE, THE CURRAGH	12 October



LA GRANDE DAME DE LA CHAMPAGNE



# Wash away the guilt without the shrink

Victoria Glendinning reviews an everyday tale of rage, sorrow, guilt, blame, and child abuse, related with Rubens style and suspense

**W**e are rich in good women novelists in this country — mature writers of the polite sort, clever about family situations, social observation, and the inner life. Bernice Rubens can do all that too, but she is different. She is tough as hell, and purposeful. She writes courage not to provide the escape-clause of irony, and it takes confidence to be funny in a novel which is about terrible things. Dr Alistair Crown, the Harley Street psychiatrist in *A Solitary Grief*, is so mean that he steals flowers from a cemetery to take to his wife who has just had a baby. He fails to remove the card, which reads "To darling Doris. Gone but not forgotten." So his wife calls their

**A SOLITARY GRIEF**  
By Bernice Rubens  
Sinclair-Stevenson £13.99

Down's syndrome baby Doris. Dr Crown meets his match for meanness in a fellow-psychiatrist. After a meal in a cafe, each fumbles earnestly in his pocket. They fumble on and on and on, while the waitress hovers. "One of them would have to give, and each one was going to make damn sure it was the other." In the end they agree, suddenly, to go Dutch, and not to leave a tip. This novel is cruelly funny about mean-spirited psychiatrists who give — or sell — their time to rich neurotics, don't listen properly, and don't care.

If Dr Crown helps anyone, it is by accommodating patients' griefs, for as long as it takes. *A Solitary Grief* (which is quite short, lovely big print) is about rage, sorrow, guilt, blame — and timing. The lurid obsessions which Dr Crown's patients pour out on his couch have become their occupations, their reasons for living. If they are joined into reality too soon, or find comfort too late, they plunge into a new and perhaps a worse madness. "I'm cured but I'm not better", as one says. Time can't heal everything. "Time heals grief but not sorrow,

which grows by what it feeds on." As for Dr Crown himself, meanness is just the tip of an iceberg. It is quite intolerable to him that his daughter is a Down's syndrome baby. He rejects her absolutely, and contrives never once to look at her. But he creeps up alone to her cot every night, covers her face, and caresses her body. The trouble with fastidious Dr Crown is that he has never confronted himself, which is why he cannot look at his daughter, or control his peculiar behaviour.

And what about Doris's mother, his wife? She loves the child, and connives with Dr Crown's not looking at her, and with the night sessions. He asks her to "give him time", and she does. She seems tolerant and un-

demanded to the point of saintliness, or stupidity. She is an odd link in the structure of the book.

But like Dr Crown, Rubens is interested chiefly in Dr Crown, who learns to look with compassion not at Doris but at one of his madder patients — a man covered all over with hair like an animal, rejected as a child by his father. Mother may be unfocused in this story because, for once, Father is under scrutiny. "A father very often has to learn to love his children."

Dr Crown moves in with the hairy man. We are given to understand that there is, technically, no sexual abuse in Dr Crown's nightly caressing of his child — just an agony of inexpressible love — and no sexuality between the two men. Just sherry, Schubert, and brotherly acceptance. The friendship ends shockingly.

There is worse to come. By the end of the book it is indeed a case of "darling Doris, gone but not forgotten". Just before her fifth birthday she goes missing from the school playground. Her parents are reunited in the anguish of waiting for news. The reader sweats in sympathy, and the news, when it comes,



Bernice Rubens puts a creepy psychiatrist on her couch, and opens cans of worms with style

is as horrific as it could well be. Bernice Rubens knows how to twist the knife.

This is an uncomfortable book to read, and not only because of what happened to trusting, vulnerable little Doris, nor because the end brings another revelation, which is no less dreadful for being dreaded. There is something frighteningly

inclusive about Bernice Rubens's grotesque imaginings. Her tone moves with seeming ease between farce and tragedy. Her story presents the crimes that are committed against humanity as ranged along a continuous spectrum — from Dr Crown's petty meanness to acts of inexplicable evil. The extremes meet when the murderer, returning

to his car after burying Doris's body in its pink gingham frock, is relieved to find no parking ticket, and experiences "a thrill of pleasure in having cheated the law". *A Solitary Grief* is a cautionary tale by someone whose head and heart are both equally engaged. There are no sentimental evasions. You have been warned.

## Magic realism in bathroom

"BEAUTY is a — marvellous — vice of form." So reads the epigraph of Mario Vargas Llosa's *In Praise of the Step-mother*. An angelic boy step-son adores his father's new wife. When she avoids his kisses and his watching of her in her bath, he threatens to kill himself and soon gets her to bed. The behaviour of this demonic seraph is interwoven with divine myths of voyeurism, of Diana at the chase and Candaules and his wife. In counterpoint to the story are the fantasies depicted in voluptuous paintings, and even a Francis Bacon, when a howling monster is explained as an object of desire.

The husband, however, is fastidious and deeply sensual. The bathroom is his temple, the washbasin his sacrificial altar. There he is the high priest, there he performs his nightly rituals of the purification of the body before he goes out to savour his wife, who will destroy him by falling into the childish clutches of the Lucifer, who is his son as well as the Angel Gabriel of the Annunciation.

This novel is erotic and elegant, epic and over-

Andrew Sinclair

IN PRAISE OF THE

STEPMOTHER

By Mario Vargas Llosa

Trans. by Helen Lane

Faber, £13.99

A DANGEROUS

WOMAN

By Mary McGarry

Morris

Macmillan, £14.99

THE BATTLE FOR

CHRISTABEL

By Margaret Forster

Chatto & Windus, £12.99

LIUTENANT KIJÉ

By Yury Tynyanov

Translated by Mirra

Glasberg

Eridanos Press, \$18.95

ing to murder in a perverse *Pilgrim's Progress*. Martha Morgan is the victim of her American small town. Abused when young by a group of high school boys, she ends by being seen as their inciter. She always tells the truth with her passionate detachment. Her blurring honesty is the cause of her downfall. Ever blamed for what she has not done, ever the sneak instead of the witness for truth, she plunges into violence as a protest against her exploitation. Yet even when the feminists see her as molested by a rapist, she has to blab and condemn herself. She would rather be right than alive.

Mary McGarry Morris is herself a dangerous woman. The quality of her prose disturbs the mind. Her descriptions seduce into derangement. At one moment, an undertaker undertakes to take under his wing Martha Morgan. For the first time he accompanies her to the cinema, a blue movie. She finds it wonderful, and afterwards embraces him in her hunger for any kind of love. His account of her as a living corpse demonstrates a fine writer in the flight of her art. Only one thing showed in a dead body, a lifetime without love. There was a tearless distance to the eye, an unripe tautness at the mouth, a toneless flesh that repelled the touch. "It was, if such a thing were possible, a deathless death."

Social workers are now under such attack that, for their problems, they need

social workers. The Battle for Christabel is presented as a war of living friends and relatives against a harsh and vainglorious system, which maltreats the children it is meant to put into care. The narrator's close companion decides to have a child by a black lover. So Christabel is born, and her mother dies in an accident while climbing the fells. Neither Christabel's grandmother nor her aunt can look after a five-year-old girl, although they dearly love her.

Christabel is farmed out to foster-parents and then finally adopted. Her mother's old friend marries and fights legally to adopt the child; but dogma in the social services believes that black children need black homes to feel secure. Although love is blind to race, the dictates and jargon of the welfare workers insist that black is black and white is white, and never the twain shall mix, although they already have done at the birth of Christabel.

Margaret Forster has a reporter's grasp of detail and an absolute understanding of the importance of children in women's lives. The long battle for the little girl is truly described as a lost war with its wounds and scars and shell-shock. Yet nobody weeps for the defeated, and Christabel herself suffers because everybody thinks that they understand her and know what is right for her. The system always wins, however, and in

Maureen, its queen bee, Margaret Forster has created a character so odious that nobody will ever go to the town hall again for their benefit without a shudder and a sigh.

In Lieutenant Kijé, a clerk in a hurry to complete an order for the signature of the Russian Emperor creates an officer, who does not exist, and declares another one dead. The invisible soldier is promoted to general, fathers a child, and is buried in an empty coffin with full military honours. The real lieutenant has to fade away. His petition to be restored to life is necessarily refused because he has already been pronounced defunct.

For imperial orders are always right. They are very special words, which carry a life and power of their own. "An order somehow changes regiment, streets, people." The fact that it is arbitrary only increases its strength over all lives.

This is the world of Yury Tynyanov's two novellas. He existed under Stalin's vindictive autocracy, and ascribed the state of fear induced in his own society as a historical terror brought about by mad tsars of the past. Sly and poetic and epigrammatic, Tynyanov was a writer who managed to survive in brutal times by disguising his satire in old uniforms. Prokofiev wrote a "Lieutenant Kijé Suite" to honour the fable of the phantom officer and the living dead. It was the music of the hour, the dance of death and disappearance.

# Chicago Loop

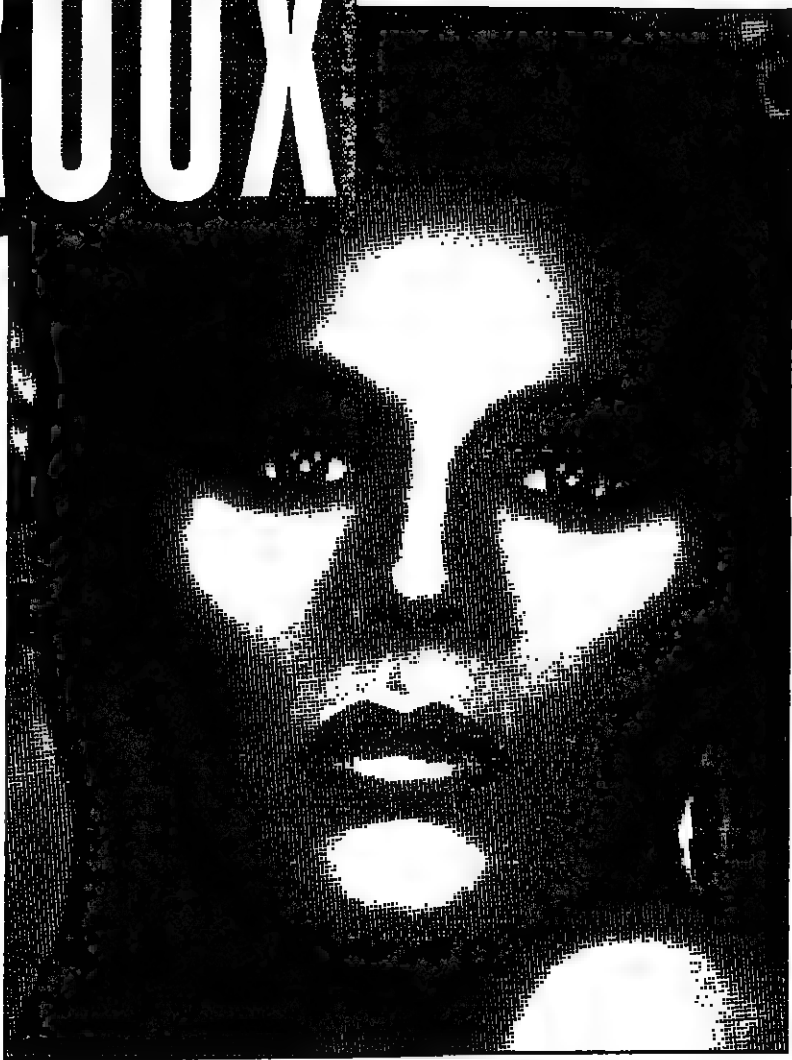
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## Reader, she married him

Philippa Toomey

THE QUIET STRANGER



By Robbie Kidd  
Mainstream, £14.99

THE island of Tobago in the West Indies has proved a refuge for the Mason family, the father a Jacobite fugitive. A prosperous sugar plantation could have been an earthly paradise for the family, who treat their slaves well. This story, told by Richard, the eldest son, in old age, reveals something quite different.

His eldest sister, Antoinette, calls herself Tony and is obsessed by horses (and doesn't, like other little girls, grow out of it). The most vital character is Betsy, daughter of an old woman from Africa, tall, skinny, not beautiful, but with the liveliest mind of them all. When a young Englishman buys a plantation, Richard can raise the enormous dowry of £30,000 to marry off Tony to him.

Richard is Edward Rochester's brother-in-law, and we have a revisionist view of the scheming little Miss Eyre and her sinister lover, which is great fun, in a delightful book. Richard's association with Betsy (their son becomes a general in a South American army), is happy.

■ *The Sword and the Flame*, by Pamela Hill (Robert Hale, £14.95). Claudine, illegitimate daughter of Claud, the great Duc de Guise, is half-sister and companion to Mary of Lorraine, wife to James V of Scotland, and mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary was a great woman, Claudine much less so, attracted to unsuitable men, falling out of favour from time to time. Scots lords and French noblemen behave ignobly, and Mary dies at 44, worn out, but leaving a kingdom to her unfortunate daughter.

■ *Sword of Empire*, by Christopher Nicole (Century, £13.99). Laura Dean was the most beautiful girl in Bombay — in 1825 you also had to have a dowry. But when her rich uncle is murdered by Thugs, she gets invited to a grand ball, meets the love of her life, and to everyone's horror, marries him. He is the Rajah Sitraj of Sittapore. They have a son. He dies in a polo accident. From then on it is rape upon rape, with sadistic overtones. Her name is mud in the European

community, but she battles through, and by heroic deeds in the flight from Kabul, is vindicated and marries the man who has loved her for 20 years. Fairly nonsensical, but it gallops along with verve.

■ *Perseverance Place*, by Elisabeth McNeill (Century, £13.99). Marrying against her mother's wishes, Brabazon (silly name) Nairn finds that her charming and impractical husband has made a hash of managing the family brewery and is bankrupt. Set in late 19th and early 20th century Leith, the action focuses on the two sons of the family, Henry and Laurence, who both work for the brewery. They manage to drag themselves into success. Family life is not a bed of roses — but Brabazon becomes matriarch and founder of a beer empire.

■ *Shining Threads*, by Audrey Howard (Hodder & Stoughton, £14.99). A sequel to *The Mallow Years*, with the older generation packed off either to death or to Italy, and the young inheriting the cotton mill. There is a pattern to many of these regally fashionable Victorian industrial novels — lower-class lover who makes good, powerful woman taking over, dissatisfied wife, collapsing marriage, jealous relatives, boardroom scenes, Victorian snobbery. More originality is needed to lift this from being run of the mill.

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TEN DAYS THAT SAVED THE WEST

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## Now it's Borin' Norman

Charles Bremner on the short shelf-life of the American hero

Deprived of flesh-and-blood heroes to emulate, American men are rushing to dig up mythic models of masculinity, and have taken to carrying iron spears while jogging. Real life heroes can't last because they always succumb to the embrace of the celebrity machine.

Take General Norman Schwarzkopf, yesterday honoured by Congress. A month ago he was an object of veneration for a country said to be thirsting for moral uplift. But Stormin' Norman the distant warrior of the Gulf has succumbed to the embrace of the celebrity machine. He has clowned for the cameras with his look-alike, the avuncular weather man of NBC. On Sunday he danced with Mickey Mouse in Florida. This week, he was reduced to the rank of routine celebrity, appearing in casual pose with his wife on the cover of *People* magazine. "Honey, I'm home," the caption said.

The general's metamorphosis from noble warrior to suburban dad is testimony to a familiar paradox. America has never talked so much about heroes while doing so much to strip the mystique from those who have earned the title. Young people in particular are said to be craving heroes, or "role models".

Across the country, schools are introducing "mentor" programmes. Older pupils adopt protégés who are supposed to follow their models.

But the trivialising intimacy of television programmes which depict heroes and the stars who play them as ordinary folk with the same habits and peccadilloes as the guy or girl next door militates against the idea that anyone possesses extraordinary courage, nobility or grandeur. The mystique of such legendary figures as Charles Lindbergh or John Kennedy would not have withstood more than a few hours of 1990s-style exposure.

A survey published this month found seven out of ten Americans believe the country has no heroes left, and most take as their role models characters from video fiction.

The poet Robert Bly believes American men lament this loss of heroic models, and has revived the archetypal wild man, Iron John, in his book of that name. First described by the Grimm brothers, Iron John is a symbol of male boldness of the type that, briefly, General Schwarzkopf was held to embody. Despite the scoffing, Bly's book has been at the top of the bestseller lists for five months, helping to send thousands of American men to act out their primal masculinity and search for mentors at 2,000 support groups and workshops.

Spear-making is one of the rituals practised at these sessions. According to Tom Daly, the director of the Men's Council Project in Boulder, Colorado, soft-living men are said to derive a sense of ancient warrior pride from this symbol of the male psyche. To get a feel for the old heroic days, he recommends the benefits of jogging, dancing and sleeping with your spear.

So far, General Schwarzkopf has not posed with a spear.

Peter Millar believes the West may be under a moral obligation to help the breakaway Yugoslavs

## Europe's final frontier



Mourners weep for a Serb killed in clashes with the police

more than a sop to the Serbs, whose assassin at Sarajevo, in Bosnia, had killed the archduke Franz Ferdinand and started the whole shooting match. The kingdom of the south Slavs was to be the Greater Serbia they had dreamed of since they attained autonomy from the Ottomans and saw the possibility of expansion at the expense of the crumbling

empires on either side. The drama unfolding on the streets of Split and in Knin and other villages of the Balkan countryside today is testimony to the Serbian failure to straddle the divide.

The battle lines being drawn in modern Yugoslavia are essentially the frontiers between the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires. The main issue is whether or not

Belgrade will readily accept this de facto demolition of Yugoslavia or try to fight a civil war that the secessionists will present as a colonial war.

Sooner, rather than later, the wider European community – the forum of democratic states that stretches from Ireland to the current Soviet border – will be called on to take sides. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that we shall be asked for material support by either party, but we shall immediately be required to recognise the independence of Croatia and Slovenia and acknowledge a state of armed hostility, if not outright war, with rump Yugoslavia, which may as well again be named Greater Serbia.

The daydreaming bureaucrats have found the levels of affluence in the existing Community unequal enough to cause problems on the road to economic convergence. They were thrown into convulsions by the very thought of East Germany, never mind Poland. Now the hammering on the door for entry to the European club is increasing, at the very moment when the members want to close it in order to redecorate and change the rules. Already

there are moves in Brussels to ban any more accessions to the community until the internal market is complete.

But it is not just the EC that we are talking about. Europe is a wider concept, embodying a shared heritage and ideals, and those countries that are on the fringes desperately need our support if they are not to sink back into the mess from which they are only now emerging. We may not want to interfere in the "internal affairs" of other countries, but as the case of Kurdistan has shown, it is sometimes morally right that we do so.

Croatia and Slovenia have declared their allegiance to those Western concepts that have become the mainstream of European tradition. Like Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, we can envisage them graduating towards EC membership, something still unimaginable for Romania, Bulgaria and indeed Serbia. If it comes to a choice – and it may – we must support them, if only to oblige Serbia to recognise their right to a separate existence.

There could be a role for the Council of Europe in organising a commission to undertake the tortuous task of redrawing the border. It would not be interference, but legitimate involvement, for in the foreseeable future old Austria's frontiers may be the true border of Europe.

## Do seatbelts save lives? Bernard Levin backs a group that says the motorist should not be bound by official diktat

There are in this country 9,774,831 (I have counted) organisations, bodies, pressure groups, societies, causes, advocates, righters of wrongs, needers of help and sufferers of injustice, and I should know, because all of them write to me twice a week demanding my support for their worthy endeavours. In vain do I tell them that I have no power to abolish the right of primogeniture, to ensure that all dogs are muzzled, to forbid people in pubs to drink, to catch and prosecute the umeshare crook who has vamoosed with the complainant's deposit, to insist on the immediate opening of Joanna Southcott's Box, to denounce the correspondent's neighbour for singing opera in his bath, to get somebody's mother-in-law out of, or as it might be, into prison.

Artides didn't know when he was well off. But for once, I have received a plea to which I feel I must respond, and my willingness is all the more remarkable because I am giving the organisation a show not from my own conviction that it is right, though I think it probably is, but because it has never had a chance to convince the public, so overwhelming has been the (taxpayer-funded) propaganda of the other side.

Before I do so, however, I must make absolutely plain that I shall NOT treat this as a precedent, and to make sure that I am not immediately inundated by pleas considered by the pleader to be no less worthy, I have taken the phone off the book and had my mail diverted to the Bishop of Truro.

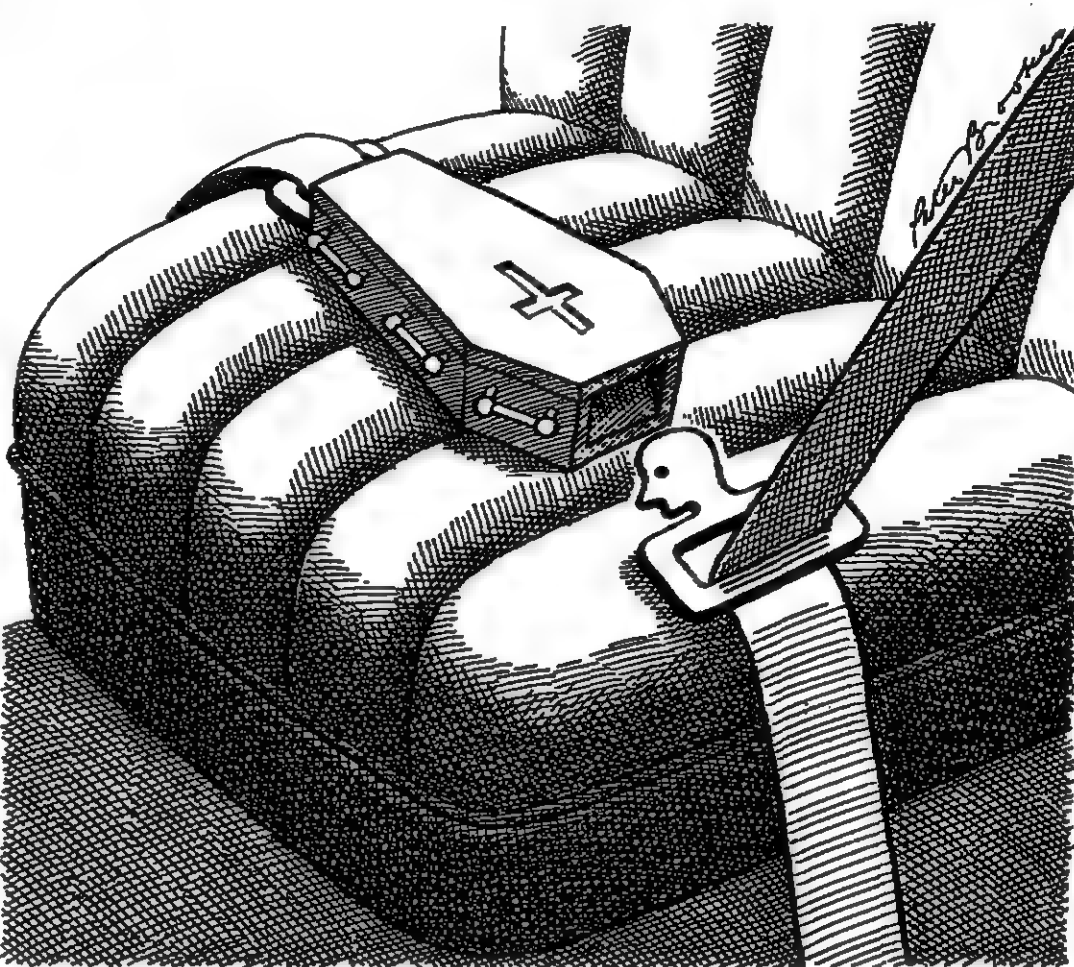
The organisation which I am here to publicise is called CIPS, and at first I took it to be a recondite item of Stock Exchange jargon. By no means; CIPS stands for Choice in Personal Safety. For

a definition of what the organisation is and does I cannot do better than reproduce its own introduction to its work.

CIPS was formed in early 1984 during the initial trial period of seatbelt compulsion. The original aim was to oppose renewal of this compulsion. That aim still stands. CIPS has evolved into a research organisation which evaluates any proposal for a law in the name of personal safety. If the proposal, by objective standards, does not appear to offer provable benefits, then we attempt to put the results of our work into the hands of those who may have power to alter matters. CIPS is not a "single-issue fanatic" organisation, and specifically forbids members to engage in outrageous or illegal actions (such as the recent actions of those who oppose Poll Tax). We are not aligned with any political party. We do not receive money from any source except members' subscriptions and donations.

Well, now there's a soft answer that turneth away wrath if ever I heard one. But a little wrath might come in handy here. For instance, if CIPS is right, the original seatbelt legislation was passed by political fraud; after repeated rebuffs over eight years (despite the tax-funded propaganda campaign), the measure might yet have failed, so the Transport Bill was introduced without any reference to seatbelts; they came in at a stage when they could be defeated only by the rejection of the whole bill. Moreover, CIPS claims documented proof that at the time of the bill an official study of the effectiveness of seatbelts was made within the Department of Transport, but suppressed because the conclusion it came to was the "wrong" one: the report came to light only some years later.

Next, CIPS makes our flesh



creep with an impressively long catalogue of deaths and injuries caused by seatbelts; people have been burned or drowned because of their inability to get out of seatbelts in a hurry. The obvious answer is, of course, that any such device will sometimes malfunction and that the use of seatbelts has saved far more lives than have been lost by them. Beck comes CIPS with "They cannot be shown to have, anywhere in the world, made any significant reduction to road casualties", and CIPS does not fail to provide the reference for the study which came to that conclusion.

If not seatbelts, what? CIPS is ready: air-bags. These, it seems, have been thoroughly tested in America and given the imprimatur. Indeed, they have been used for experimental crashes with live drivers; no one has dared to do that with seatbelts. But remember what CIPS stands for. It is not content to demonstrate that seatbelts are obsolete and should be replaced by air-bags; it stresses the matter of freedom and option, and as soon as it does so I abandon any claim to even-handedness, and am to be found cheering it on. The air-bag, says CIPS, "inflates in front of a car occupant on impact."

It is "not there until needed". It requires no law enforcement. It cannot, as has been claimed, damage the ear-drums of car occupants. It cannot in any circumstances harm the user.

I leave the subject of seatbelts here, but I do not leave CIPS. For this admirable outfit wears another hat, and one so likely to give affront that it may well turn into the Hat of Nessus. The heading rings the bell at once: "Driving after consuming a small amount of alcohol". Here goes.

The law states, and did before breath tests were introduced, that the criterion is whether or not the driver is under the

influence of drink or drugs to the extent that he has not got proper control of his vehicle. If he is so influenced, he should not drive. If he does drive he commits an offence. Since the introduction of breath tests... the number of deaths from the Dept. of Transport has played a large part. Figures released to the media are always of "drink-related" casualties, never of casualties caused by drunken drivers. The... public as a whole... tend to think that drink-related casualties are the same thing... The difference... is well illustrated by an example, tried on the Dept. of Transport... "If a coach carrying 50 people swerved to avoid a drunken pedestrian, crashed and killed all on board, would that be reckoned as 50 drink-related casualties?" "Yes."

I must say that the more I read of CIPS, the more I like the organisation, especially its calm, quiet tone of voice. Listen to this, for instance:

The major causes of road casualties are turning right carelessly, and excessive speeds in the circumstances. These can only be dealt with by encouraging better and more responsible standards of driving. It is plain common-sense to attack the largest causes of casualties first, then move later to minor ones. No attempt has ever been made to do this. [My italics.]

Well, there is the argument. As I said, it is not mine, though as I worked through the CIPS material I became more and more persuaded by it. There will soon, of course, be plenty of scope for a challenge to the authorities' version, as the legislation making rear seatbelts compulsory is imminent. I have no great confidence that the Dept. of Transport will be any more honest this time than in the past, and no doubt the measure will go through. But at least I have done my best to ensure that it will not do so without the contrary case being heard, and I leave you with the noble fanfare which sums up CIPS' position: "It is in our view not justifiable to impose regulations which cannot be proven to be capable of achieving their desired effect."

## ...and moreover CRAIG BROWN

I am delighted to be able to introduce for the second week running, another exclusive extract from the memoirs of Sir Norman Fisher, *Not At All Dull: My Years in Office 1979-89*. Those who kindly wrote in following our first exclusive extract may rest assured that their petition for a reprieve is being urgently considered.

● The time I spent as an undergraduate at Cambridge was by no means uninteresting, not to say sedulous dull. I had long entertained ambitions to take part on a one-to-one basis in the world of Cambridge politics. Those who have read political memoirs of the time will have grown used to seeing me in group portraits, my head always clearly circled. From the start I had worn a hula-hoop round my head for all such photographs. In this way, I would be ready-circled on the print when it was developed, so that all could marvel at such a mark of destiny on one young.

By repeated use of the hula-hoop, I soon rose to committee level on the Cambridge University Conservative Association. Ours was an outstanding generation, with a shared vision of Britain's future in the world. "By the time I leave politics," John Nott announced one day, "I want this country to be very similar to when I went in", and the motion was passed without further ado.

One morning, strolling along the Cam with the young John Gummer, I confided for the first time exactly the type of politician I wanted to be. "My ambition", I said, "is to be

remembered for being, well, not dull exactly – no, something slightly less flashy than dull."

"Unmemorable," he said. "That's it," I said, adjusting my spectacles with a modest flourish. "Unmemorable." And I determined there and then to become the single most unmemorable politician of my generation. But I was already well aware that with such stiff competition this would be no easy task.

I was never a flashy politician, never one to go for the crowd, the pulling gesticulation, the underlined "quip", the interesting "remark" or the original "opinion". Even now, come Christmas, I can walk into my own home, packed with family and friends, and still pass unrecognised through the merry throng. This, I need hardly add, remains a source of quiet pride.

In the Cambridge of the 1950s there were others every bit as unmemorable as me. A group of about ten of us – myself, Leon Brittan and John Gummer among them – would stay up late at night, sometimes not going to bed until some good few minutes after 11pm, discussing Conservative issues over mugs of warm Ovaltine and a selection of assorted biscuits.

We had so much in common – we all eschewed the colourful neckties that seemed to abound, and we favoured sober socks – that we found it hard to tell one another apart.

I need hardly add that we got up to our fair share of student "larks". As well as the inevitable yo-yos and conkers, our favourite

game would consist of one of us leaving the room and the rest all reaching out to work out who it was.

One of the hardest parts of a politician's life lies in getting selected. Conservative selection committees are always on the look-out for a first-rate candidate with nothing too unusual about him. They are well able to ferret out at interview stage those who say or do anything too memorable. It was a proud day indeed when I was selected for a safe seat somewhere up north, in the Yorkshire area as I recall, which I was to hold for the next 30 years.

Three of my contemporaries – Gummer, Nott and Brittan, – were on the shortlist with me, and I knew it would be a close-run thing. I had picked my wife from the Central Office approved list of candidates' spouses, so I was safe on that score, but some of the questions could be very searching.

Leon, for instance, had fallen at the last fence. When asked his favourite colour, he had replied "Lilac"; it was a full three years before he would find a seat. When they asked me the same question, I knew that my whole future was at stake. "It would be invidious to single out any one colour in particular before consulting my constituents and the country at large over this very important issue," I replied. "But let's first and foremost be realistic in this matter." The committee rose as a man and shook me by the hand. I was on my way.

Clement Freud writes for *Saturday Review* from this weekend.

## Wrangling at any price

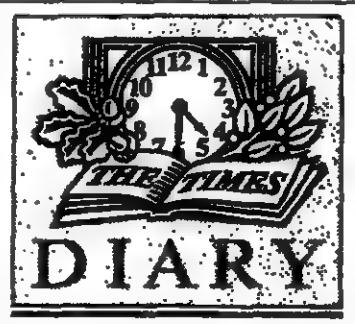
The price of lasting peace in Ireland has been set by the Northern Ireland Office at £36 a day. That is the sum offered to Ulster politicians to take part in Peter Brooke's peace initiative, and may go some way to explain their reluctance to get down to serious negotiations.

Many of the full-time politicians, who include James Molyneux of the Unionists, Ian Paisley and John Hume of the SDLP, regard the sum as so derisory that they have declined to collect it. But for others it is tempting. Sammy Wilson, a teacher, and doctors Joe Hendron and John Alderdice might well conclude that £36 a day is more than enough for getting away from their daily grind.

As the factions continued to haggle yesterday over a location for the talks, one intriguing suggestion emerged: the Isle of Man, symbolically located in the middle of the Irish Sea. The idea seems whimsical, but it's an improvement on Strasbourg.

Brooke can at least take comfort from the knowledge that his are not the only Anglo-Irish talks beset by problems. To the anger of some of the participants, the British-Irish Interparliamentary Union has been meeting this week in London. Yesterday its members, from the House of Commons and the Dail, discussed the Brooke initiative in private session at the Queen Elizabeth II conference centre.

Dick Spring, leader of the Irish Labour Party, should have been there to deliver the findings of a comprehensive survey on Irish emigration to Britain, but was kept away by a political wrangle in Dublin. Labour and other parties in the Dail could not agree on pairing. All depressingly familiar.



● Mrs Thatcher, conspicuously absent from the recent valedictory Downing Street dinner for Sir Charles Powell, her former private secretary, made amends on Tuesday by attending a Foreign Office party in his honour. While keen to display publicly her support for so loyal a servant, she left the speechifying to Douglas Hurd. Powell, still on the FO payroll, has still not decided what to do next; there was some confusion among guests about whether the evening was a farewell or a welcome back.

## Size no bar

Harry Blech returned in triumph to the Royal Festival Hall last night as part of its week-long 40th anniversary celebrations. He was conducting his 344th performance in the hall – a record – and is the only person from the opening week who is still performing.

Blech had repeatedly refused invitations to conduct his London Mozart Players during the inaugural week. "He thought it was a ludicrous idea," says his wife Marion. "A chamber orchestra in a hall for 3,000? He was convinced that no-one would be able to hear a note." Blech was finally won over when the administrator, John Shove, told him that Toscanini had agreed to perform. Blech joined a trio of other distinguished conductors, Sir Malcolm Sargent, Sir Adrian Boult

and Clarence Raybould, for the celebrations, but Toscanini, ironically, was unwell and could not attend. Blech was so impressed with the acoustics that over four decades he has been back to conduct on average once every six weeks.

## Commercial break

The hunt is on for a little fascinating rhythm by George Gershwin not heard since the 1920s. The composer of *Rhapsody in Blue* and *Porgy and Bess* was commissioned in 1926 by the American advertising agency Ayer to produce radio jingles for the telephone company AT&T. All the recordings have



long been lost, but Ayer is now trying to trace the music, believed to last no more than two minutes. "As far as we know it's the only music Gershwin ever composed for an ad," says Stephen Grimes of the agency.

At 122 years old, Ayer proudly claims to be the oldest advertising agency in the world, but down the years it has been distinctly careless with its own heritage. In addition to losing the Gershwin recording, the agency failed to keep other sketches by Pablo Picasso and

paintings by Salvador Dali promoting De Beers diamonds. Gershwin, needless to say, had a song about their plight, too. Something about having "plenty o' nuttin'".

● A Commons committee debated the future of London Zoo yesterday, but a visit over the wet bank holiday weekend would surely have been enough to persuade MPs that the place should be properly funded or closed down. The sad tale about the place is epitomised by the iguanas in the reptile house. Transported from some tropical lagoon, they now drink out of a brown earthenware bowl of the kind available at any pet shop. The bowl even has "DOG" in large black letters on its side.

## Red-hot line

Publishers' ingenuity knows no bounds, and is certainly in match for the Foreign Office. Oleg Tsarev, a senior KGB official, should have been in London today – the 50th anniversary of Rudolf Hess's flight to Scotland – to help promote John Costello's book about the incident, *Ten Days that Shook the West*, in which he collaborated.

Tsarev had provided Russian files allegedly showing that Hitler sent Hess to Britain to secure a peace treaty in return for help in invading Russia. The Foreign Office, for reasons known only to itself, refused him a visa. Undaunted, Bantam, the publisher, set up a live link between Tsarev in Moscow and Costello in the suite at the Kensington Hilton. Media interest was intense, and a four-hour press conference ensued. But as one journalist observed afterwards, there would have been insufficient interest to sustain a press conference for much more than ten minutes. Perhaps Bantam should send a royalty cheque to the FO official who took the decision.

مكتبة الامم



THE TIMES THURSDAY MAY 9 1991

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## NONE SO BLIND

Toryism in Scotland is in a mess. That did not matter when Toryism in England could deliver enough votes to enable the Scots, Welsh and Irish fringes of the United Kingdom to fume in impotence. That is no longer the case. So when Ian Lang, the Scottish secretary, yesterday reinforced his government's opposition to devolution at the Scottish Conservatives' conference, he was playing with electoral fire.

He said there was no question of the Tories bringing in a tax-raising Scottish assembly, on the lines advocated by the opposition parties there. He claimed that the Scots would end up paying £200 a head more in tax if they had their own assembly, as if to tell them they cannot have devolution because they would not like it.

A time when Westminster is fiercely resisting supranational powers seeping to Brussels, and when half Europe is seething with subnational dissension, is hardly the time to bury political heads in the reactionary sand. Yet John Major's government is curiously inconsistent. While fighting tenaciously to keep power devolved within the European Community, it resists any devolution of power from Westminster to the nations of Scotland and Wales. Northern Ireland, which is at best ambivalent about devolution, is curiously having devolution pressed on it at the same time as Scotland, which aches for greater self-government, is denied it.

Mr Lang did throw out a sop. He suggested a "senate", a talking shop that would be allowed to question the operation of the Scottish Office. But Mr Lang's party would only create this in Scotland if there were a demand for parallel institutions throughout the United Kingdom, for instance in the regions of England. This is strangely arrogant from a Scotsman. Mr Lang is disingenuously pretending to offer a symmetrical solution for what is clearly an asymmetrical problem.

Scotland is not inherently or historically

anti-Tory. Though the Liberals consistently polled more votes than the Conservatives in the 19th century, Labour and the Tories were neck-and-neck for the first half of the 20th. As recently as 1955, Scotland's Tories actually won more votes than their colleagues in the rest of the country: at 50.1 per cent, the best performance of a single party in Scotland this century. Yet by the 1987 election, that percentage had more than halved, and the Tories' share of seats had fallen from 36 out of 72 to a paltry 10. In four of those, the sitting MP is defending a lead of less than 5 per cent.

The social make-up of Scotland is admittedly different from the rest of the country: fewer home-owners, more manual, working-class voters. But the middle class tends to vote disproportionately Labour too. The voters of Scotland object most to two facets of Toryism: Thatcherism and the insistence on continued "colonial" rule.

The former sat uneasily in a nation traditionally more collectivist and communal than the rest of Britain. But the arrival of John Major has already softened the harder edges of Thatcherism, and the Tories have enjoyed a corresponding six-point rise in the polls, albeit still yielding only 25 per cent support, one point more than in the 1987 election. The colonial attitude well demonstrated by Mr Lang and, on a recent visit, Mr Major, shows no sign of abating.

Eighty per cent of Scots want either devolution or independence, and the Tories are the only party that offers neither. There are many difficulties about devolved assemblies and about tiered levels of government and taxation. All are at present subject to an enquiry within the environment department. Confederation and subsidiarity are at the very centre of political agendas in most of Europe's democracies. Why on earth the Tories should set their faces against such a debate is a mystery.

## THE KREMLIN'S NEW CLOTHES

The Soviet Union may no longer be an imperial mover, but it still considers itself a global shaker. This week's tour of the Middle East by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh will include the first visit to Israel by a Soviet foreign minister. On Sunday he is due in Egypt to meet his American counterpart, James Baker. The two will discuss their plans for a peace conference. This is intended by both sides as a double act, a demonstration of partnership which was unthinkable only a few years ago but has become central to Soviet foreign policy.

Under Brezhnev the Soviet Union endured an "era of stagnation", but its prestige was still in the ascendancy across much of the southern hemisphere until the disastrous Afghanistan adventure. Only after Brezhnev's death, by which time it was clear that something would have to give, was there a serious effort to modernise Soviet policies.

Perestroika, as it later became known, began cautiously under Yuri Andropov and was accelerated, with ever more unpredictable results, under Mikhail Gorbachev. By ditching ideology, by negotiating disarmament and loans with America and Germany, by cutting off funds to satellites, a leaner but fitter Soviet superpower would eventually reassert itself. The two-step-forward, one-step-back reforms of 1986 to 1990 were a means, not an end. The new Soviet leadership still gave primacy to foreign policy.

Mr Gorbachev regained the diplomatic initiative for a few years, but the seismic effects of the 1989 upheaval in Eastern Europe had repercussions on the Soviet Union. These have recently brought the democratic opposition to power in several republics. As the political centre has weakened, so the projection of Soviet power abroad has become more difficult. Not only in Eastern Europe, but in Africa, Central America and Asia too, Marxist-Leninism now finds few takers. To sustain this uniquely expensive form of rule requires huge subsidies, which are no longer forthcoming from Moscow. Rarely though, have

the Kremlin's diplomatic pretensions been more ruthlessly tested than in the Gulf war.

Iraq, the most important Soviet ally in the region, had to be written off, together with its largely Soviet armaments, which performed badly in combat. Before and during the war, last-minute attempts by Soviet leaders, including Mr Gorbachev himself, failed to prevent the American-led coalition from pulverising President Saddam Hussein's military machine. The aftermath is bound to bring shifts in emphasis, as the Soviet political and military elites draw lessons from the war.

Within the Soviet foreign policy-making machine, of which the foreign ministry is rarely the most powerful part, there is no consensus on the reasons for Soviet failures. Speaking in the United States this week, the former foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, attributed his downfall to party hardliners who accused him of destroying the *cordon sanitaire* in Eastern Europe, and of disregarding Marxist-Leninist principles. Mr Gorbachev, he says, was too preoccupied to defend him. Over the past year similar conflicts lay behind the defence ministry's deliberate circumvention of the conventional arms agreement with Nato, and various crude attempts to blame Soviet domestic problems on the West.

For the moment, the "Westerners" in the Kremlin still appear to be winning. Mr Gorbachev's eagerness for a Soviet-American summit and an invitation to the forthcoming G-7 meeting in London suggest that his priority remains good relations with the West. But the Gulf war has given a new impetus to the "Easterners". Mr Bessmertnykh badly needs a share of the action in the Middle East.

For the moment, it suits Mr Baker to give it to him. It may not suit Washington to concede equality to Moscow in the long run. The world has long since ceased to quail before Lenin's leviathan. While its agony continues, Soviet diplomacy can do nothing much but practise damage limitation.

## IN LOVE WITH THE JOB

How can employers motivate and satisfy their workers? The usual and easy answer is to pay them more. How can trade unions enthrone or at least retain their members? The usual and easy answer is to fight for higher pay. Yet this conventional wisdom on both sides of industry is probably wrong.

According to a Mori poll conducted for GMB, the municipal and engineering trade union, pay ranks well down the list of criteria by which employees judge their well-being. When more than a thousand workers from all walks of life were asked to pick six out of 21 qualities which were important for them in their jobs, only a third mentioned pay. The factors which came out overwhelmingly ahead, and the only two that were listed by more than half the respondents, were job security and "finding the job interesting and enjoyable".

Such findings, which have emerged from similar recent surveys in many other industrialised countries, are consistent with economic theory as well as psychological observation and common sense. As society becomes richer, an additional pound of pay is worth steadily less to all but its poorest members. As people leave the bread line far behind, non-material sources of satisfaction and security begin to gain the upper hand over money.

The diminishing importance of money as the sole reason for working has obvious implications for industrial relations, busi-

ness management and even economic policy — or would, were it not that people do not act as they tell the survey-merchants they feel. Never has that paradox been more evident than in the current recession.

The government keeps warning that excessive pay increases will mean job losses. But many workers do not believe there is a direct connection between their own job security and their pay, and they are not entirely irrational in this respect. Not only do the jobs destroyed by excessive pay rises usually belong to other people. There have also been cases where the world over where workers in declining and uncompetitive industries have accepted deep pay cuts, but have still ended up losing their jobs.

Lower wages alone will not make a declining industry or a badly-managed company competitive. A combination of wage restraint, product innovation and efficiency improvement is usually required. In order to achieve this combination, a company obviously needs a cooperative and flexible workforce. But it also needs a management which knows how to enthuse its workers and is seen to protect the longer term security of their jobs by using their talents to best advantage. That is why personnel management is a central executive skill, wrongly subordinated to that of accountancy in the hierarchy of so many British companies.

## Disabled hit by legal impasse

From Mr Andrew Rowe, MP for Mid Kent (Conservative)

Sir, From time to time there arise issues of policy on which there is no significant disagreement between the parties concerned about the end to be achieved, but the mechanics to secure the end prove impossible to devise.

One such issue concerns a small number of people whose bodies have been seriously disabled, whose mental powers remain unimpaired and who wish to be allowed to organise for themselves the daily care which they require.

A handful already do so. Their local authorities have assessed their need for care attendants, put a price on it and handed over to them the day-to-day administration.

Because the client is the employer, he or she is able to hire staff in whom they feel confident, can arrange the sort of day-to-day flexibility which suits both parties and therefore create for themselves the sort of life which, for example, allows for an unexpected whole-day visit to the Department of Health to lobby for the continuation of such arrangements.

The lobbying is necessary because this eminently civilised system is alleged by Department of Health lawyers to be illegal and there seems to be no easy way to present and extend it. There is no doubt about the good will among ministers to save a system which gives clients exactly the kind of self-determining responsibility which government policy is keen to encourage. The problem is, how?

There is no difficulty about money. The whole point about the new assessment system is that local authorities put a price on the level of care which the client needs and the authority can afford to provide. With regular accounting by clients, control of the money is easy.

The problem is one of machinery. The social services are traditionally charged with providing care in kind and the social security system cash. It seems to be impossible to devise a way of accommodating the hybrid we need to continue helping these people.

As medical science advances, the number of people who are able to live full and responsible lives despite enduring very severe physical disability will increase and it is in all our interests that they should be enabled to take control of as much of their own living arrangements as possible.

Yours faithfully,  
ANDREW ROWE (Chairman,  
Parliamentary Panel for the  
Personal Social Services),  
House of Commons.  
May 8.

## Assurance of safety

From Mr R. B. Christie

Sir, Your paragraph on the safety of health service blood products (April 26) could cause unnecessary concern to patients.

Intensive research has been applied in recent years to enhance the safety and purity of plasma products manufactured by the commercial sector. The claim that these are potentially less safe because they are made from plasma collected abroad is based on no sound scientific evidence. In fact, all the scientific and clinical evidence points to greater rather than less safety in use.

Yours faithfully,  
R. B. CHRISTIE (Clinical and  
Technical Affairs Director),  
Armour Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.,  
St Leonards House, St Leonards Road,  
Eastbourne, East Sussex.

## Frost damage to vines

From Ms Serena Sutcliffe

Sir, Peter Mayle's contention that French wine producers are exaggerating frost damage in order to increase prices (Diary, April 25) is a distortion of what has really happened in many areas, particularly in Bordeaux and south-west France, such as the Côte de Gascogne.

A grower in Entre-Deux-Mers (not a rich area) surveying 90-100 per cent damage to his vines, or a St Emilion producer faced with similar scenes, would justifiably resent Mr Mayle's somewhat parochial Provencal/English attitude. There has not been frost damage like this in the south-west since 1945.

Yours faithfully,  
SERENA SUTCLIFFE,  
2 Brynaston Place, W1.

## Famine and families

From the Reverend J. W. McC. Miller

Sir, Yet another huge appeal (report, April 30) on behalf of starving people confronts us. Compassion demands that we respond generously to it. But concern for the environment prompts a word of caution.

One of the major threats to the environment is posed by the rocketing number of human beings on the surface of this planet. Our compassionate aid to starving children today may well lead only to further appeals for their starving children tomorrow. We cannot feed, house, or otherwise provide for an indefinite increase in world population.

I hope the major charitable agencies might take the occasion of this latest crisis to press the United Nations for a population policy for the world, including our own overcrowded island.

Yours sincerely,  
JOHN W. McC. MILLER  
(Minister), St Andrew's United  
Reformed Church,  
London Road, Reading, Berkshire.

Sports letters, page 38

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

### Skills and the sixth-form syllabus

From Mr J. P. Allen

Sir, Your editorial on broadening minds (April 30) was absolutely right in its general emphasis. Sixth-form standards are often excellent, but to what purpose? However, your suggestion that there should be movement towards useful skills such as accounting, law, economics and politics is regrettable for its lack of balance.

Had you mixed in engineering, design, applied science, technology and other subjects vital towards wealth-generation in society, then readers might have sensed that at last here was insight into what is really needed.

At a lower level, the national curriculum has realised the significance of design and technology, but its wider acceptance as an integral part in the educational scene has been slow. Not only is the country short of inspired exponents of these skills, what about the availability of teachers?

What encouragement does society offer those with such skills wavering on the decision to teach or not to teach? The answer is clear: graduate recruitment in these areas has reduced to a trickle.

Yours faithfully,  
J. P. ALLEN (Director,  
Design and Technology Project),  
Rugby School,  
Rugby,  
Warwickshire.  
May 4.

From the Head Master of King's College School, Wimbledon

Sir, It is certainly true that this country needs a coherent framework for 16-19 education and training and the Headmasters' Conference has already advanced the idea that the academic tradition embodied in A-level study should belong within this framework. That tradition, too, must be allowed to evolve, although there are actually many of us who were by no means wholly convinced by the Higgenson report's five-subject alternative.

The real issue is how we cater for the varying abilities and expectations of the 16 to 19-year-olds, and here your leader's thinking is muddled. We must have a simpler system; we must teach the "skills" of accounting, accountancy, law, economics and politics; we must stretch every 16-19 student across the arts/science divide, adding at least another science in the process.

If you feel free to talk of educational laziness as the characteristic of A level many will be amazed at the absence, despite your interest in "broadening minds", of a philosophy of education which recognises it to be, in some sense, an end in itself.

Educational reform has too often been abjectly ambitious. You wish to "broaden" an understanding of the world, its nature, its achievements

and ideas to students of all abilities. And train them vocationally! I should prefer reform to be more realistic and a good deal less authoritarian in its strategy.

Realistic in accepting a variety of courses for 16 to 19-year-olds, in balancing the legitimate claims of the academic and vocational (while resisting the imposition of a vocational "skill" agenda on academic subjects) and understanding the needs and preferences of individuals.

Less authoritarian because more realistic and because I do not share your view, and that of the Labour party, that you should impose five subjects on all the academically gifted nor that this will significantly increase the numbers wishing to stay on for academic courses.

This is why the Headmasters' Conference is proposing an intermediate qualification which will allow students to extend their education as well as pursue training.

Yours etc.,  
ROBIN REEVE, Head Master,  
King's College School,  
Wimbledon Common, SW19.  
May 2.

From Professor Emeritus L. J. Herbert

Sir, The crux of the issue in your leader is a revised entry qualification unconditionally accepted for all first-degree courses.

The Higgenson report, published in June 1988, to which your leader refers, lived up to its title "Advancing A Levels". It stated right at the outset (section 1.6, p.4) that "A levels can claim, with some justification, to have risen to many challenges..." and continued to say, in the same paragraph, that "Our recommendations seek to exploit A levels' inherent strengths and flexibility in order to meet new demands both now and in the foreseeable future."

In common with many others I have urged — in my case since 1969 — a reform of the entry qualification on the lines now advanced by Labour, namely a five-subject package with at least two subjects in the arts and two in the sciences.

That reform will, however, call for some restructuring of our degree courses. Our engineering degrees, for example, rely heavily on the depth of A-level (or equivalent) foundation subjects and that foundation will not be sustained in the proposed reform. These degrees have been accepted for professional engineering status within the EC — where degree courses are far longer — grudgingly, largely because of the strong specialist foundation for entry.

Yours faithfully,  
L. J. HERBERT,  
21 Walton Avenue,  
Middlesbrough,  
Cleveland.  
May 2.

### North of the Border

From Mr Dugald Stewart

Sir, In the literary language of Scotland before the Union the letter S in contact with an I was pronounced "sh" (letters, April 19, 23, 26, 27, 29; May 1). The surname Inglis (properly pronounced English) remains today.

Scott's was similarly pronounced Scottish, and the elided form Scots was pronounced Scotch. (Compare the word French.)

Sir Walter Scott used the forms Scottish and Scotch without commercial or other discrimination. There is no reason to be indignant with him or anyone else who does so.

Yours faithfully,  
DUGALD STEWART,  
Hammers Field, Standon,  
Ware, Hertfordshire.

From Mr Iain M. S. Donnell

Sir, As the poet Burns variously had it, "we think na" on the lang Scots miles" (*Tam O'Shanter*) and *On a Scotch Bard Gone to the West Indies* (a bit premature because he did not actually go), so it seems that one simply takes one's choice.

Yours faithfully,  
IAIN M. S. DONNELL,  
Arran,  
8 Ashcombe Avenue,  
Sutton, Surrey.  
May 1.

### Ethiopia's future

From Mr David L. Astor and others

Sir, As your editorial ("Ethiopia's future of lions", April 30) indicated, Ethiopia is on the brink of new dangers and new opportunities. Its fate will influence the whole region of Africa's Horn and demands the serious attention of the outside powers.

President Mengistu's harsh regime is plainly being defeated and there is therefore a pressing need of a new basis for peace between the peoples of the former Ethiopian empire. For success, this should include the former oppressor-minority, the Amhara, and for example the largest oppressed nationality, the Oromo, who constitute a numerical majority in Ethiopia.

As a priority, it is recognised by all those most actively opposed to the present regime that the Eritreans have a right to hold a referendum on their own future. With their radically different history, the Eritreans are likely to favour independence.

This would call for a treaty-guaranteed "special relationship" between an independent Eritrea and Ethiopia. We believe this would receive Eritrean support, including guarantees of Ethiopian access to the Red Sea. Such a solution is

already accepted by the Tigrayan-led Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which is the largest force opposing the Addis regime.

With Eritrea out, a process of political devolution to ethnic and/or regional autonomies becomes possible. This is already the policy of the EPRDF, a fact which offers by far the best hope of a peaceful future in the area.

This will, of course, be extremely difficult to achieve, perhaps only possible with the good will of outside powers. Ethiopia's much abused peoples need channels to the outside world. They need an audience and a welcome, as well as practical help.

This is surely the time for responsible diplomacy. A minimum symbolic step to mark full acceptance of a complete change of regime would be the temporary withdrawal of ambassadors from Addis.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID L. ASTOR,  
BASIL DAVIDSON,  
COLIN LEGUM,  
9 Cavendish Avenue, NW8.  
May 3.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071 782 5046).

### Clash of views on battle of Crete

From Mr Antony Beevor

Sir, Lord Freyberg (May 4) disagrees with my account in *Crete — The Battle and the Resistance* of how General Freyberg, his father, misunderstood an Ultra signal at the crucial moment, yet he does not address the documents which contradict his own version.

He maintains that General Freyberg was warned on May 11, 1941, that the whole of the initial German assault on Crete was coming by air rather than by sea, but that his father could not improve the defence of Maleme airfield in case this betrayed the secret of Ultra. In support, he presents Wavell's letter brought by Brigadier Dorman-Smith on May 11. Yet he makes no mention of his father's reply taken back to Cairo next day.

This letter completely contradicts Lord Freyberg's claim that his father wanted to reinforce the defences of Maleme airfield but was forbidden: "If they come as an airborne attack against our aerodromes, I feel sure we should be able to stop them if he attacks after the 16th. If however he makes a combined operation of it with a beach landing with tanks, then we shall not be in a strong position."

Moreover, if General Freyberg had been so concerned about Maleme as his son claims, then why did he make no attempt to reinforce that sector once the battle started? Ultra security ceased to be an impediment the moment paratroopers landed there on the morning of May 20.

Tragically, General Freyberg still feared a beach landing on May 21, the crucial moment of the battle. He misread Ultra signal OL 15/389 on that day and issued the following order:

Reliable information. Early airborne attack in area Canea likely. New Zealand Division remains responsible coast.

As a result, the counter-attack on Maleme next morning was too weak and too late to have any chance of success. The German air bridge was established and the battle lost.

General Freyberg's bravery and concern for the welfare of his men are not in doubt. And to lay all the blame for the loss of Crete on him would, of course, be unjust. But one cannot dismiss the thought that a more imaginative general might have achieved a very different outcome.

Yours faithfully,  
ANTONY BEEVOR,  
54 St Maur Road, SW6.  
May 8.

From Mr P. M. B. Savage  
Sir, From October 30, 1940, until June 1, 1941, I was in Crete: from the very beginning to the very end, that is. And I was an officer at Crete HQ.

To those of us who were in the thick of things that spring but who had no power to influence events, the proper protection of the airfield at Maleme had seemed a matter of sheer common sense. It didn't need any Ultra messages to point it out. That this obvious precaution was not taken amazed us. It amazed the Germans, too, and victory was soon in their grasp.

We had never even heard of Ultra, of course. But we knew what ought to be done. To have done it could not conceivably have compromised Ultra and it might well have saved Crete.

Yours faithfully,  
PATRICK SAVAGE,  
Aynhoe Park,  
Near Banbury, Oxfordshire.  
May 7.

From Vice-Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly

Sir, To Lord Freyberg and those brave United Kingdom, Commonwealth and Crean forces must go the credit that never again during the ensuing four years did Hitler manage to launch such a colossal airborne operation. Whatever the tactical location of Freyberg's forces, such was the ferocity with which they fought that the airborne element of the German army, though just triumphant, was virtually destroyed for ever.

Yours truly,  
LOUIS LE BAILLY,  
Garlands House, St Tudy,  
Bodmin, Cornwall.

### Disapproval in church

From Monsignor J. E. Moore

Sir, I was told of a squire in years gone by who hated long sermons (letters, April 24, May 1). On a Sunday morning he would sit close to the pulpit and place on the pew in front of him eight half-crowns and his pocket watch.

For every minute the preacher exceeded ten minutes, one coin was returned to the squire's waistcoat pocket. At the end of the sermon any remaining coins were put into the collection.

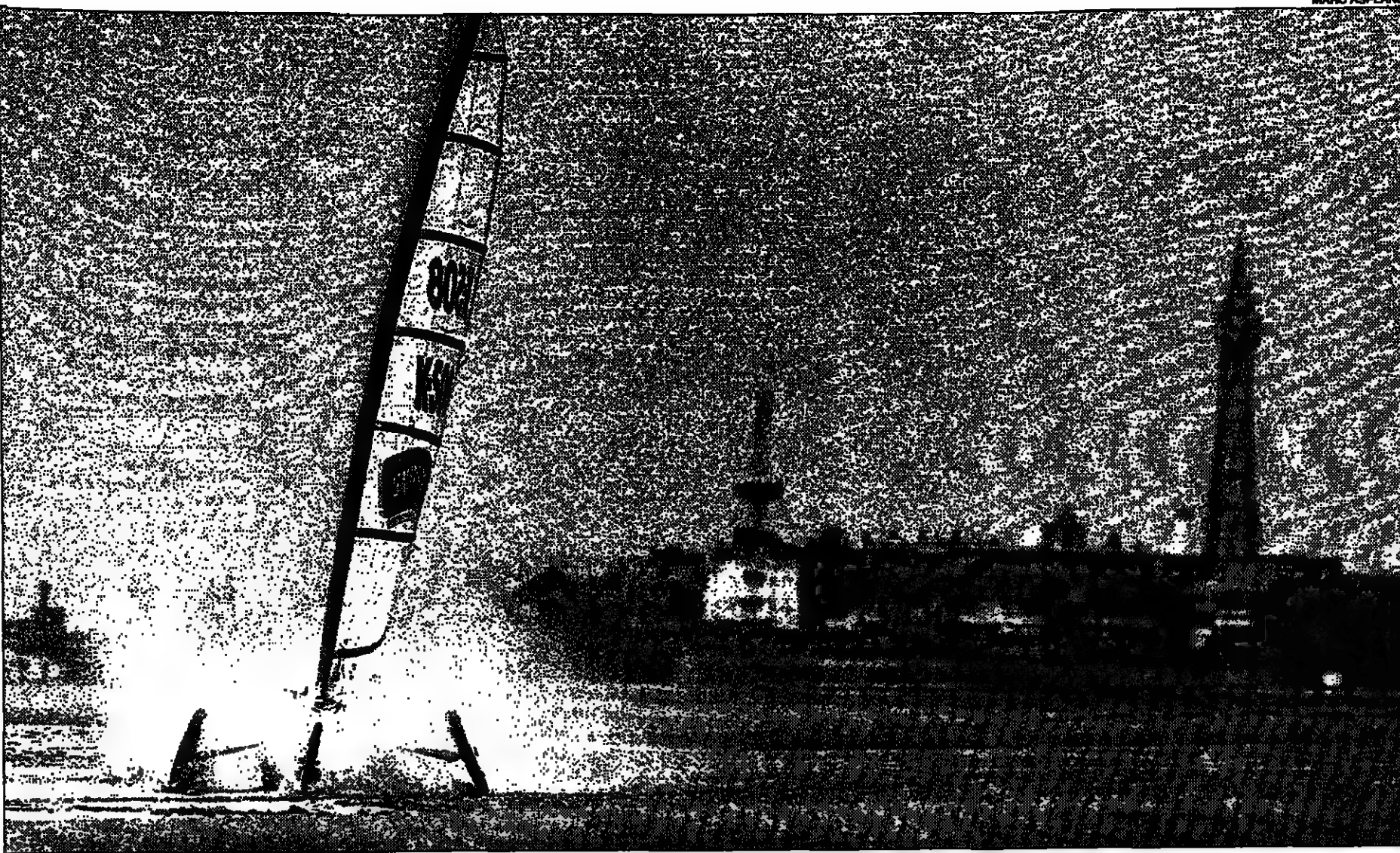
Yours faithfully,  
J. E. MOORE,  
St Augustine's Presbytery,  
Westville Gardens,  
Woodborough Road, Nottingham.

From Mrs A. B. Brown  
Sir, Father Cassidy (May 1) suggests showing disapproval by leaving the church.

My husband, angered by the sermon, once strode from the church glowering with rage, but his action was misconstrued by solicitors, parishioners and the curate, who spent the next week enquiring if he now felt well again.

Yours faithfully,  
A. B. BROWN,  
6 Blacksmiths Hill, Aynhoe,  
Nr Banbury, Oxfordshire.  
May 1.





Sand blasting: Chris Wright of Wetherby, Yorkshire, hits water at more than 50 mph against a backdrop of the Blackpool Tower on the sands of Lytham St Anne's, where Britain is defending the Swire-Off America's Cup of Sandysurfing. The event has attracted competitors from America, Australia, New Zealand and Europe

## Gorbachev asks Thatcher to visit them in Moscow

By MARY DEBEVY in MOSCOW and MICHAEL BONYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

MARGARET Thatcher will visit Moscow later this month for a private visit at the personal invitation of President Gorbachev and his wife. The announcement, made yesterday by Vitali Ignatenko, the president's spokesman, gave no details of the duration of the visit, which begins on May 27, or the programme.

At the same time Britain is to sound out the other six Western industrialised nations on the possibility of inviting Mr Gorbachev to London to attend the Group of Seven economic summit in July. The Soviet leader, in talks with President Mitterrand in Moscow, expressed his interest in attending, but Soviet officials, apparently trying to prompt an invitation, said he had not been officially asked.

Both at the Texas G-7 meeting last year and in Paris in 1989, it was suggested, especially by Mrs Thatcher, that he could attend. Britain, as host this year, will not take a position until it has consulted the other six. The view

among Whitehall officials, however, is that he will not attend this year.

The former British prime minister enjoys an unchallenged reputation in the Soviet Union, where she is credited with bringing strong leadership and economic success to a Britain that was in terminal decline when she took over. From their first meeting in

1984, she and Mr Gorbachev established a "special relationship" which endured throughout her years in office.

But the timing of her visit suggests that it may be designed to boost Mr Gorbachev's image and create the impression that his policies have international support.

Ryazkov challenge, page 11

## Prince warns Prague

Continued from page 1

which saw the 21st century in terms of stainless steel and glass, buildings with their insides on the outside and 20-storey towers with postmodern pediments, the prince said:

"I would suggest that you take these people outside, show them Prague, and treat their blandishments with caution."

Confessing in person what his critics have long suspected, that he was an interfering busybody and an unconcerned romantic, the prince

continued: "What you have here - despite the dilapidation of many of your buildings, and despite the horrendous damage inflicted on the edges of this and the other great cities of Czechoslovakia - is an inspiration to the whole of Europe."

"Your struggle to preserve what you have inherited, and to reintegrate it into the values and character of the society you are rebuilding, is a struggle you must win, or there will not be much hope for any of us."

## Sunday trade bill soon hint

By PHILIP WEBSTER

THE prime minister signalled his strong support yesterday for reform of the Sunday trading laws by throwing his weight behind the system used in Scotland which gives local authorities discretion as to whether shops in their areas should open.

Mr Major told the Commons: "I believe that that is the right way ahead on matters of conscience such as this. Experience in Scotland suggests that a considerable consensus is possible."

Whitehall sources did not rule out a bill being included in the next Queen's speech, whether that comes before or after the general election. The Court of Appeal decision last week that was seen as a victory for those in favour of Sunday trading has given renewed impetus to government efforts to find a solution.

Meanwhile a backbench attempt to allow video shops to open legally on Sundays failed when MPs rejected the Sunday Trading (Video Shops) Bill by 71 votes to 38.

## Top Ford managers may go in shake-up

Continued from page 1

such as himself, were asked to confirm decisions, about which they had little or no specialist knowledge, by subordinates unable to act on their own initiative.

Mr Halstead admitted that the intensive bureaucracy could be an important reason for the disappointing impact of the new Ford Escort and Orion range, in which Ford invested £1 billion. He said that the Escort was probably "over-engineered" by managers when decisions on styling were best left to Ford's design and engineering departments.

The continuing problems of the Escort are being made worse by the tough market conditions with sales of all new cars in April down by 24.2 per cent on April last year, according to figures issued yesterday from the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders.

The Escort, Britain's best-selling car for eight years, was in third place in the April listings with 4,400 sold. Ford's Halewood factory is, however, geared up for maximum output of 1,100 Escorts and

## Political sketch

### I say, I say ... I meant to say

"WE NEED no elections ... said the PM yesterday. He corrected himself: "... no lectures, from Labour".

One sympathiser. The thought is obviously bothering him. One picture the bank holiday just passed. It is the wee small hours of the morning. Mr Major is in bed at the family home in Great Stukeley, Huntingdon ... The prime minister sleeps uneasily. Nightmares trouble him. From the living room downstairs, the cuckoo clock strikes three.

All of a sudden, Mr Major sits bolt upright, shouting in his sleep, pummelling the wakeful Norma. "A majority of three? Not good enough! No elections, d'you hear? No elections ..."

Norma shakes him. "John, you're dreaming. You're at home, with me. It was just the cuckoo clock."

Still muttering "no elections, no elections", the PM drifts back to sleep.

Yesterday he was wide awake. Mr Major played the straight bat that is beginning to mark his style but his demeanour is developing a steeple quality as the days go by. He does not "win" exchanges but nor does his opponent. Twice recently Mr Kinnock has led with the NHS, but Major is as well-briefed as Mrs Thatcher was, and sounds happier with the NHS than she did.

Mr Kinnock attacked with a vigour in no way muted by the complexity of his allegation that Watford General Hospital discriminated against patients whose doctors were not "budget holders". Major denied this with equal force. It ended in a head-scratching draw.

Then came a real storm in a teacup. You knew it must be a trivial matter when Harry Ewing (Lab, Falkirk E) said: "We're not dealing here, Mr Speaker, with a trivial matter". It concerned doctors. *Hansard* had doctored something the prime minister said. Not a serious operation, mind you, just the very slightest case of inva-

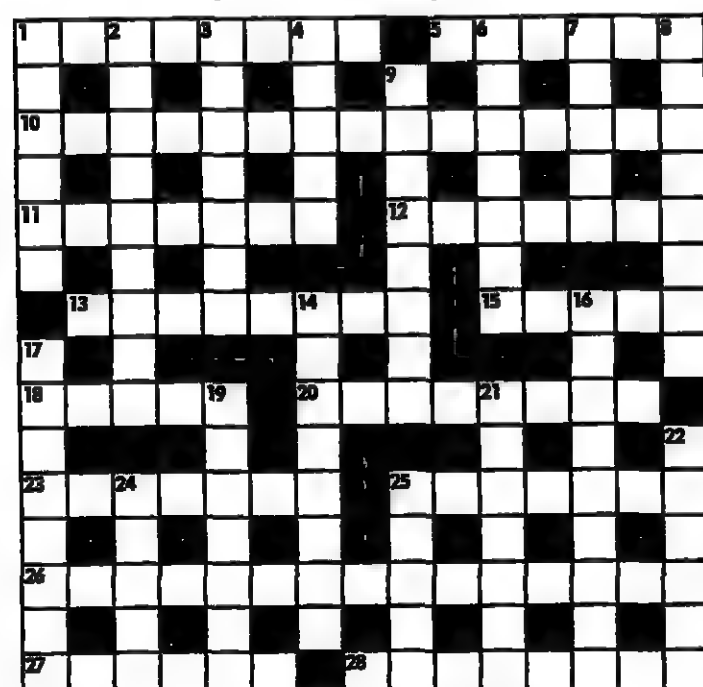
MATTHEW PARRIS

## TOMORROW IN THE TIMES

Where life is it anyway? There are in this country 9,774,831 (I have counted) organisations, bodies, pressure groups, societies, causes, advocates, rights of wrongs, needers of help and sufferers of injustice; and I should know, because all of them write to me twice a week demanding my support for their worthy endeavours. The good news is that Bernard Levin is throwing his weight behind one of them - the Choice in Personal Safety group.

Plus: British scientists may have found a way to increase the size of fruit and vegetables - naturally

## THE TIMES CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO 18,600



**ACROSS**

- Capital needed by a big place - as much as can be produced (8).
- Occult lore about a lake in Wales (6).
- Consultation on a big case brings to light a double meaning (11,4).
- One thing in China to copy (7).
- Something left over - spare pieces with shirt tail (7).
- When in trouble, Englishmen pray to heaven (8).
- Lineage right for a fast horse (5).
- Inane fashion for a female hill-billy (5).
- Still air for vespers (8).
- College term for a whistle of disapproval (7).
- Profit on public house contract (7).
- The writer makes his point here (6-9).

**DOWN**

- The creed for nine out of a hundred English (6).
- Turned down as boxers are bound to be (3-5).
- Egyptian policeman on the beat in conversation (6).
- Fruit has to simmer on quietly when cooked (9).
- Concern for some of the foot-soldiers (7).
- Money raising, for example, causes suspicion (5).
- A northern town free from ground rent (7).
- Solitary corporal on easy sector (5).
- A declaration of independence by Conservative member of the hearing (8).
- Invigil against dunderhead - he's holding one up (8).
- Optical aid you can't see through if it's back to front (8).
- Sort of ship in a bottle, perhaps (9).
- Cook's vessel can pause in this resort (8).
- Pride in rise of best-seller (7).
- Waste food that's bad for sheep (7).
- She is burning electricity (6).
- Sort of water to use for a shot in the arm? (5).
- Lines eggs up - well done! (5).

**Solution to Puzzle No 18,599**

ACROSS: 1. LAMARCA, 2. FABLE, 3. LAMARCA, 4. LAMARCA, 5. LAMARCA, 6. LAMARCA, 7. LAMARCA, 8. LAMARCA, 9. LAMARCA, 10. LAMARCA, 11. LAMARCA, 12. LAMARCA, 13. LAMARCA, 14. LAMARCA, 15. LAMARCA, 16. LAMARCA, 17. LAMARCA, 18. LAMARCA, 19. LAMARCA, 20. LAMARCA, 21. LAMARCA, 22. LAMARCA, 23. LAMARCA, 24. LAMARCA, 25. LAMARCA, 26. LAMARCA, 27. LAMARCA, 28. LAMARCA, 29. LAMARCA, 30. LAMARCA, 31. LAMARCA, 32. LAMARCA, 33. LAMARCA, 34. LAMARCA, 35. LAMARCA, 36. LAMARCA, 37. LAMARCA, 38. LAMARCA, 39. LAMARCA, 40. LAMARCA, 41. LAMARCA, 42. LAMARCA, 43. LAMARCA, 44. LAMARCA, 45. LAMARCA, 46. LAMARCA, 47. LAMARCA, 48. LAMARCA, 49. LAMARCA, 50. LAMARCA, 51. LAMARCA, 52. LAMARCA, 53. LAMARCA, 54. LAMARCA, 55. LAMARCA, 56. LAMARCA, 57. LAMARCA, 58. LAMARCA, 59. LAMARCA, 60. LAMARCA, 61. LAMARCA, 62. LAMARCA, 63. LAMARCA, 64. LAMARCA, 65. LAMARCA, 66. LAMARCA, 67. LAMARCA, 68. LAMARCA, 69. LAMARCA, 70. LAMARCA, 71. LAMARCA, 72. LAMARCA, 73. LAMARCA, 74. LAMARCA, 75. LAMARCA, 76. LAMARCA, 77. 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## Only mildly beguiled again

Roguish performance: Sara Weymouth, centre, in a nightclub scene from *Pal Joey*, "deliberately far too tacky"

ish), or, tackiest and funniest of them all, tap-dancing in petal-embroidered tutus for "The Flower Garden of My Heart".

This is the show where "Zip" and "I Could Write a Book" first appeared, as well as the character of the black-mailing agent, Lowell, brilliantly played by Ian Gelder like a hippo in spats. But the interesting creation is Vera, the sugar mummy who the black-eyed Gasoline makes infinitely knowing; bewitched, perhaps, but seldom bothered and certainly not as bewildered as she pretends, hands shoved into the pockets of her mauve pyjama suit.

He's kept enough. He's kept enough. And yet where it counts he's adept enough.

Whatever the shortcomings of these old musicals, it is for their times and wit that we revere them.

JEREMY KINGSTON

Kept boys and gigolos still inhabit taboo areas, but what is so odd is not that Broadway's shuddering critics talked of "immorality" at the unsuccessful 1940 production, but that some of the same men hailed the show at its triumphant revival in 1952. The performance is all, I dare say, and though kept boys, like girls, will be matters for individual taste, in trying to make *Joey* an interesting character, Russell Boulter sets about it the wrong way. *Joey* lies, he swaggers and is socially inept, but clearly he is 22-carat in bed. A subtler performance that conveyed this, rather than one

alum women are off with battered prams to loot dresses and chairs. As the Post Office is stormed, the men are bickering and playing cards beside the coffin that contains the bodies of a consumptive girl and the heroine's still-born child. The play ends with madness, sudden death and what, in a better revival, would be a paradoxical feeling of human realism.

No wonder the Fenians noted at its premiere. They would have probably stayed mum if Mendes' production had been magicked back to 1926, given the many subversive, mischievous or plain funny lines that fall prey to poor timing or delivery. There is little wit or bite in a cast whose members include Stanley Townsend's surly, charming Fluther and John Rangan's tiny, bald Peter Flynn.

Such strength as the evening possesses comes from its women, invariably the most sympathetic characters in O'Casey's plays. Niamh Cusack finds all the vulnerability in Nora, the stricken heroine, and Judi Dench embraces the contradictions of Bessie Burgess, a Protestant capable one moment of drunkenly singing triumphalist songs at the Catholic rebels, and the next of risking her life for their women. Lurching across the stage, her face squashed into a baleful red scowl, Dame Judi does not miss the character's rancour: she also catches her instinctive decency. Here, at least, is Shakespearean variety.

A prostitute toots for custom while Padraig Pearse is heard offstage, hailing patriotic bloodshed as "a cleansing and sanctifying thing". No sooner has the gunfire begun than the

company's initial research with nuns when devising the play suggested an exploration of spiritual motives. In fact the piece could be criticised for its exquisite tenderness. The aesthetic takes over, and content is swamped by mood and movement, lighting, sound effects and terse dialogue that alternates the prosaic with the poetically allusive.

A free-standing, mobile podium with steps made from drawers provides a symbolic point of reference: a ladder of achievement, a cupboard-like home to symbolise belonging and exclusion, a container from which the three girls take dolls to exercise their maternal instincts and where they find

their beautiful wedding dresses. Characters are deftly filled in. Pasha (Sophia Lovell-Smith) is serene and protective. Poppy (Helen Anderson), with the look of a plumper Sissy Spack (innocent, ecstatic, even sprouting a feathery wing). The eldest, Pandora (Grainne Byrne), is the most earthbound; disgruntled by other people's happiness, constantly regretting her own choices.

Pandora takes off her wedding gown, deciding marriage is not for her. Religious vocation is never specified, though at one point the women lie prone in terror of some advancing unseen presence. We leave them as we found them an hour before, peacefully tending plants, musing on other

people or questioning the practicalities of life.

Finely judged performances and a dreamily hallucinatory production cannot disguise the fact that issues have been so distilled as to be rarefied to the point of invisibility. In its shy, glancing obliqueness, the play could be about anything — which evening class to take, how to vote in the local elections. That bane of fringe theatre, the knowing chorales, whose front row cackles inform us that they have cottoned on to every hidden reference, do nothing to illuminate the show.

MARTIN HOYLE

Arts features, page 17

## NEW RELEASES

AY CAMELAI (12): Carlos Saura's bolshoi, but shallow tale of two young actors entangled in the Spanish Civil War. Carmin Maura, Andrea Pajares. Lumière (071-888 081).

THE BALLAD OF THE SAD CAPE (12): Errol's rendering of Carmin Maura's bolshoi tale of two young actors entangled in the Spanish Civil War. Carmin Maura, Andrea Pajares. Lumière (071-888 081).

THE COMPANY OF STRANGERS (PG): Seven similar stories are recounted in the country's, magical exploration of old age from Canadian director Cynthia Roth. Lumière (071-888 081).

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## CINEMA GUIDE

Good! Brown's assessment of the film in London and elsewhere. Indicated with the symbol (L) on release across the country.

AWAKENINGS (12): Tender, heart-breaking tale of neurologist Robin Williams who brings the two men in a coma back to life. Director, Oliver Stone. Metro (071-437 077).

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## THEATRE GUIDE

Good! Brown's assessment of current theatre in London. Indicated with the symbol (L) on release across the country.

AWAKENINGS (12): Tender, heart-breaking tale of neurologist Robin Williams who brings the two men in a coma back to life. Director, Oliver Stone. Metro (071-437 077).

THE COMPANY OF STRANGERS (PG): Seven similar stories are recounted in the country's, magical exploration of old age from Canadian director Cynthia Roth. Lumière (071-888 081).

EVERYBODY WINS (12): Tangled, unwhimsical small-town comedy thriller, with Nick Nolte, Debra Winger. Script by Arthur Miller; director, Karel Reisz. Gaze (071-727 430).

THE HARD WAY (12): New York detective and Hollywood star pursue serial killer. Empty action movie. James Woods, Michael J. Fox. Director, John Badham. Carmin: Baker Street (071-888 081).

IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES (12): Nagisa Oshima's challenging erotic epic of 1976. Incomprehensible. Metro (071-437 077).

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## By ROBIN OAKLEY AND SHEILA GUNN

Ministers had feared an attempt to speed the pace on European integration at the June summit which would open up splits by disappointing the Thatcherite wing of the party if Mr Major appeared acquiescent. However, after a 20-minute telephone conversation between Mr Major and Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor yesterday, government sources said that no big developments could be expected in Luxembourg.

Whitehall sources say that there are clear differences of view between the French and Germans over what form a European central bank should take, with the French wanting it under political control and the Germans arguing for independence. The Spanish, who are insisting that there must be a greater degree of

**June revival, page 9**

## Continued from page 1

In the interview, which took

Travel is helping to fill the enormous gap left in her life, especially meeting her former friends still in power. But she said that she was not dashing into writing her memoirs.

She paid tribute to her son

The industry minister, Lord Fleaketh, who is expected to take over as the government's chief whip in the Lords later

## Continued from page 1

July that they had identified a strong candidate for the long-sought gene determining gender in humans and animals. They identified a gene on the Y chromosome which was given the name SRY (sex-determining region Y gene) in humans, Sry in mice. In the latest work they have greatly strengthened the evidence that

"These experiments tell us a number of very important things about sexual development," Dr Lovell-Badge said. "First, all the genetic information needed to send the embryo on the pathway of male development is contained in just one gene. Second, there can be no doubt

prised that the sex-change mouse was sterile, because it has been observed that in the rare cases where embryos with female chromosomes develop as males they are never fertile for reasons that are not fully understood. Any attempt to change the sex of a human embryo in the search for a son would therefore be pointless.

**MATTHEW PARRIS**

**Strangeness and charm: John Russell Taylor on the variety of vision provided by six women artists**

Information supplied by Met Office

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## Huismans steps up as Courtaulds splits jobs

By Gillian Bowditch

SIPKO Huismans, managing director of Courtaulds, the speciality materials group, is to become its chief executive from August 1. Sir Christopher Hogg, chairman and chief executive since 1980, will remain chairman.

The move fuels speculation that Sir Christopher may soon leave the group, which he has, over the past decade, transformed from one of Britain's sickest businesses into a textbook success. Sir Christopher has been tipped to succeed Lord Weinstock, were he to retire as GEC's managing director. A senior role in education has also been suggested.

However, Sir Christopher said that he had no intention of relinquishing the chairmanship, and that the board had discussed splitting the roles of chairman and chief executive about three years ago. "It is absolutely the right thing for Courtaulds," he said. "Sipko Huismans and I share the same vision for Courtaulds. We have worked closely together for some years now with a view to achieving that vision and we will continue to do so in our new roles."

Mr Huismans, born in The Netherlands, joined Courtaulds in 1961 as a shift chemist in Swaziland. He has been a director since 1984.

### Provident Life

PROVIDENT Life is supporting Paul Rooney's £2 million purchase of a chain of estate agents from Prudential Corporation, and not Provident Mutual as was stated yesterday.

## Enterprise joins Elf in Occidental field buyout

By Martin Barrow

OCCIDENTAL Petroleum is to sell its entire North Sea oil interests to a joint venture company formed by Elf Aquitaine of France and Enterprise Oil, the UK independent exploration and production company, for £785 million.

These interests include 36.5 per cent of the Scapa, Piper, South Piper, Saltire and Chanter fields and 23.4 per cent of Claymore.

The newly formed Elf Enterprise Petroleum will be two-thirds owned by Elf, which will manage it. Enterprise will get a one-third interest by contributing 31.9 per cent of its share in the huge Nelson field, due on stream in 1994.

With 19 per cent of Nelson, the joint venture will boast estimated proven and probable reserves of about 300 million barrels of oil with production peaking at 100,000 barrels a day by 1995.

The purchase will be partly financed by the issue of £438 million exchangeable bonds guaranteed by Elf. These can be exchanged into 68.4 million ordinary Enterprise shares, contributed by Elf, thus reducing the French company's shareholding in Enterprise to 10 per cent.

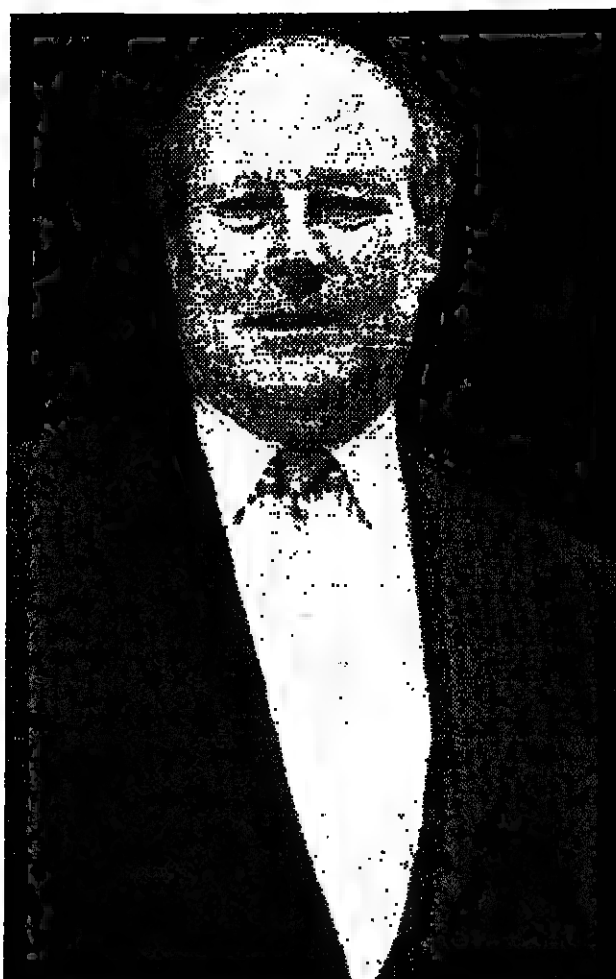
Elf's interest in Occidental's North Sea assets, which were

offered for sale as part of a widespread restructuring programme, was widely known but the alliance with Enterprise was a closely guarded secret until this week.

The involvement of Enterprise is expected to smooth the path for the deal through the regulatory process. Peter Lilley, the trade secretary, has expressed disapproval of takeovers by foreign state-controlled companies and Elf, in which the French government holds a 55.6 per cent stake, has been seeking a way of increasing its upstream interests in the North Sea without falling foul of UK regulations.

As part of the deal Enterprise is placing a large share of its prized interest in the Nelson field into the joint venture, although it remains the largest single-interest shareholder with an overall stake of about 47 per cent. Enterprise will become field operator once production starts, within three years.

The coupon on the bonds being issued by Elf will be fixed at between 8½ and 9 per cent. The bonds, being sold in the UK and continental markets, will be exchangeable at 640p per Enterprise share. Yesterday the shares fell 7p to 550p.



'Rotten' year likely: Sir Eric Parker of Trafalgar

## Trafalgar tumbles

TRAFALGAR House, the development, construction and leisure group, has maintained its interim dividend at 8.8p despite pre-tax profits being more than halved, from £117 million to £51.5 million, in the six months to end-March.

Sir Eric Parker, the chief executive, said: "We anticipate a rotten 1991, but on the basis of the potential for recovery in 1992 and thereafter, we saw no reason to

change at the halfway stage." Trafalgar has kept some development properties as investments rather than sell at low prices and is negotiating the profitable sale of a property it recently bought in Paddington, west London.

Shipping and hotel profits slumped from £30 million to £7.6 million but would have been worse but for the charter of the Cunard Princess for American forces in the Gulf. *Times*, page 27

## Polly Peck may repay only 20p in pound

By Martin Waller

CREDITORS of Polly Peck International, the crashed electronics-to-fruit combine, can only expect a return of 20p in the pound if the group is put into immediate liquidation, the administrators have concluded in their first formal report since they were appointed last October.

This contrasts with an estimate of 52p in the pound by the remaining directors if the assets are realised in an orderly fashion over an extended period of time.

The estimated 22,000 creditors, including the ordinary shareholders, are to vote on Polly Peck's future at a meeting at Alexandra Palace, north London on May 24.

Michael Jordan and Richard Stone, of Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte, and Christopher Morris, of Touche Ross, the joint administrators, recommend they be left to manage the business, affairs and property of the company and to recruit management.

They want to sell businesses not needed for the group's survival and to explore the possibility of realising the value of those left, possibly through flotation in Turkey or elsewhere. Meanwhile they will investigate any claims against directors or former directors, bankers or professional advisers.

A formal creditors' committee of five people will be set up, probably drawn from the bankers, and presented to creditors for a vote on May 24. A larger informal co-opted group will, the administrators hope, include some institutional shareholders.

The directors' statement of affairs shows total debts of £1.15 billion and assets which they believe could be worth £597 million, that estimate based on their realisation over an extended period of time. The administrators say they "do not wish creditors to misinterpret this statement. Accordingly, it should be emphasised that such a return is not available in the short term".

The administrators believe values obtained from a liquidation "are materially lower", indicating a dividend of around 20p in the pound.

Both estimates include no value from various businesses operating in northern Cyprus and Turkey because directors and administrators believe any assessment would be so uncertain that it would be "fundamentally misleading".

### BUSINESS ROUNDUP

## Bibby seeks £14.6m from shareholders

J BIBBY & Sons, the animal feeds and seeds to laboratory disposables conglomerate, is seeking £14.6 million from its shareholders via a one-for-ten rights issue at 132p a share. Barlow Rand, the controlling shareholder, with 86.4 per cent of the equity, will take up its entitlement in respect of only 800,000 shares. The balance—almost 9 million shares—will be placed by Cazenove at a premium of 12p a share—a move that will reduce Barlow Rand's holding to 79 per cent.

The proceeds of the issue will fund Bibby's acquisition programme, says Richard Mansell-Jones, the chairman. Details of the rights issue accompanied news of a near-standstill in profits in the six months to end-March. Pre-tax profits were £16.97 million, against £16.78 million, but the board is lifting the interim dividend by 3.6 per cent to 2.85p a share.

## MTM chief confident

BUSINESS at MTM, the special chemicals group, has been "remarkably resistant" to the gloomy economic climate, Richard Lines, chairman and chief executive, told the annual meeting. He said first quarter demand had been good and, on that basis, the board had every reason to be confident of the group's continued success. Integration of Hardwick Chemicals had progressed quickly and cleanly.

## Anglia TV agrees deal

ANGLIA Television yesterday agreed a three-year output deal, worth over £1 million a year, with Merton Films, the independent producer. The deal, which follows an announcement of a link-up with Noel Gay Television, maker of BBC2's *Red Dwarf*, comes a week before bids must be made for ITV franchises. Anglia is defending its franchise against ETV, a consortium including Emap, the press group.

## 3M to expand plant

DESPITE recession in the motor and car component industries, the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company—3M—yesterday announced a £13.5 million expansion of its plant at Bangor, Co Down.

With the support of Ulster's industrial development board, 3M Industrial Tapes is to modernise and extend the factory, acquired in 1989, which makes paper-back masking tape and other adhesive tapes. Big customers include carmakers and the aerospace industry. The workforce is expected to rise only slightly, from 280 to 305.

## Triplex Lloyd buys assets

TRIPLEX Lloyd, the industrial engineering group, is acquiring the trade and assets of Parkfield Precision Components from the administrators of Parkfield Group, for £3.71 million. Prior to the administration Parkfield Precision, an automotive component maker in Peterborough, made an operating profit of £900,000 in the eight months to end-April 1990.

## Brompton axes payout

BROMPTON Holdings, the USM oilfield inspection services group, is not paying a final dividend after full-year pre-tax profits slumped from £1.31 million to £397,000 in the period to end-December, on turnover down from £52.3 million to £37.6 million. Earnings per share fell to 1.2p (8.2p). With no final dividend, against 2p last time, the payment for the year is 1p (2p). Losses on the sale of the services division and subsequent restructuring led to an extraordinary charge of £1.17 million. The shares were unchanged at 48p.

## SmithKline Beecham results head for £1bn-a-year mark

By Martin Waller

SMITHKLINE Beecham, the pharmaceuticals group, believes sales of its bestselling ulcer treatment, Tagamet, could be outstripped this year by Augmentin, an antibiotic. SB unveiled pre-tax profits of £253 million (£219 million) for its first quarter to March, along with a first interim dividend of 3.75p (3.4p).

The 16 per cent rise in pre-tax profits would have been higher but for exchange rate changes. Sales were 4 per cent lower at £1.11 billion, but trading margins rose from 21.4 per cent to 24.1 per cent. Analysts expect this year's pre-tax profits to reach £1

£112 million, or 77 per cent of shareholders' funds, more than half the previous year's figure. Interest payments fell by £40 million, to £15 million. The group's aim is to out gear to around 50 per cent by the end of this year.

Tagamet sales reached £153 million, up 8 per cent, but they were outstripped by a 32 per cent rise, to £142 million, for Augmentin.

The shares, which lost 11p to 820p, have risen from 472p a year ago to a high of 842p last month, benefiting from the market's gradual conversion to the advantages of the merger and from the strength of the pharmaceuticals sector.

Borrowings were trimmed dramatically over by the disposals programme, falling to



As determined as BTR

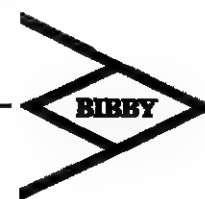
New challenges

Old confidence

Same motivation

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"...progress in a difficult trading environment"

- Profit before tax rose to £16.97m (1990: £16.78m).
- Earnings per share were 9.82p (1990: 9.56p).
- Interim Dividend for the period increased to 2.85p (1990: 2.75p).
- Paper & Converted Products Division increases operating profits significantly, although growth in the Science Products, Agricultural & Materials Handling Divisions suffered due to a generally severe trading environment and the strength of sterling.
- "The Group is coming through the recession satisfactorily and, helped by its diversified international operations, is now well-placed to benefit from any upturn. It is too early to anticipate that an economic recovery will have any real impact on the results for the second half year. Currently, interest rates are coming down, currency exchange rates are more favourable and I consider that the Group will continue to show progress in the second half of the year."

Richard Mansell-Jones, Chairman.

### SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR THE 26 WEEKS ENDED 30 MARCH 1991

	1991	1990	Change
	£000's	£000's	
Profit before tax	16,971	16,776	+1.2%
Earnings per ordinary share	9.82p	9.56p	+2.7%
Dividend per ordinary share	2.85p	2.75p	+3.6%

J. BIBBY & SONS PLC  
15 STRATFORD PLACE, LONDON WIN 9AE

صندوق الاستثمار



Most British companies have learned to live with the ever-present threat of a hostile takeover. London's Stock Exchange, the largest, most efficient and liquid in Europe, is both a great national asset and an easy route to takeover by any bidder with deep pockets and sights set on even the biggest British enterprise.

But scratch the smooth exterior of any company chairman and he will soon be complaining bitterly that so far as Europe is concerned, the odds are stacked against Britain. For all sorts of reasons, the traffic is largely one way.

Continental European companies are protected by complex voting structures, cross-shareholdings, prohibitions on shareholdings above certain thresholds and capital markets that simply do not easily allow the building of large stakes or outright hostile takeovers.

Many who watched two substantial overseas businesses battling over Rowntree felt that instead of a level playing field, the takeover arena had become a killing field.

## How to level the killing fields

COMMENT

The CBI's latest proposal to the trade and industry committee will therefore gain a rousing chorus of support from Britain's boardrooms. The CBI wants the Office of Fair Trading to take into its deliberations some consideration of whether or not the bidder is itself immune from takeover.

The CBI's thought is a novel one; that when bidproof companies acquire others, they reduce competition in the market for corporate control.

No new legislation would be required. As with the ill-fated Lilley doctrine on takeovers by state-owned companies, the trade secretary would merely need to state that he will in future consider takeover immunity when deciding on references to the monopolies commission. The commission would of course be the final arbiter.

The EC is ponderously considering the broad and complex issue of level playing

fields in takeover regulation and is working towards some policy proposals. But these will take time to work through the system. Eventually, new company law directives will emerge, but on a timescale of years rather than months.

The fact is that there are mountains of cultural differences to be overcome before other EC member states are convinced that they should dismantle artificial barriers to takeover. Philips, for example, believes that its own immunity from a hostile bid is good for the long-term health of Europe's electronics industry and allows management to concentrate on long-term developments without the constant need to look over its shoulder for predators on the horizon.

The CBI has put forward a perfectly reasonable stop-gap

measure that will concentrate minds in Brussels. Whether it will prevent much of British industry becoming indirect subsidiaries of Deutsche Bank is, however, in doubt.

### Mortgage war

The Nationwide has taken a gamble on interest rates purely to try to boost its share of the mortgage market. If there is a short-term uptick in house sales, since the new rates will not come into force for existing borrowers until July, the gamble is not exactly outrageous, but with big mortgages on offer at 11.25 per cent, the society would surely be embarrassed unless short-term interest rates come down by a full point before the summer holidays.

If competition is the spur, however, the significance of the cut goes much further. Until now, the main lenders have been cautious about the series of interest rate cuts set off by sterling's entry into the European exchange-rate mechanism last autumn, waiting to see concrete cuts in rates. In some cases, the societies have sceptically lagged behind to see if foreign exchange markets will allow rate cuts to be consolidated. This was not unreasonable, given the unintended hiatus in rate cuts during the early period of sterling weakness.

Judging from the reaction of some competitors, this mood is not dead, but the Nationwide has now tuned its collective mind to a falling trend in rates. The Chancellor has added a helpful new adherent to the faithful band who see the economic bottle as being half full rather than half empty.

Such a change of mood,

equivalent to that shown by businessmen in some of the most recent surveys, could be a useful element in hastening economic recovery, or at least getting it back on to Norman Lamont's schedule. Sir Eric Parker of Trafalgar House, a leading housebuilder, insisted yesterday that underlying housing demand is good, despite low sales. People may not actually be buying, but they are visiting showhouses in large numbers, waiting for the off. The Chancellor is relying on consumer spending for the economic recovery, so a change in sentiment that persuades people to take buying decisions is crucial.

Ironically, the more building societies cut mortgage rates, the less need there is for the Chancellor to take any risks in the foreign exchange market with short-term cuts, such as that widely anticipated after the April inflation figures are released tomorrow week. At this point in the cycle, however, Mr Lamont will surely take the risk of nipping any return of consumer confidence in the bud higher than any risk on the foreign exchanges.

FOUR of the most powerful men in Britain will come together today for the first time in public. To most people, they are largely unknown, faceless men. But their impact on ordinary lives, though barely noticed, is enormous. They are the men who in effect hold away over Britain's key utilities. They are the men who decide how much you pay for your electricity, your gas, your water, your telephone. They are — the regulators.

One of the clear intentions behind the government's privatisation of Britain's telecommunications, water, gas, and electricity services was to expose each of them to the harsh winds of competition — to open them up. Odd then, that what has happened is that massive power over large parts of everyone's domestic budgets and over much of Britain's economy and industry has ended up in the hands of four unelected, barely recognised, former accountants and economists.

What these men — Sir Bryan Carsberg at the Office of Telecommunications (OfTel), Ian Byatt at the Office of Water Services (Ofwat), James McKinnon at the Office of Gas Supply (Ofgas), and Stephen Littlechild at the Office of Electricity Regulation (Ofreg) — do is necessary simply because of the sheer scale of the enterprises they monitor. Though privatised, all the utilities are largely still monopolies: what they do is so big, so expensive that few, if any, other companies can compete against them. So, in order to protect the consumer and to ensure that the utilities themselves are run efficiently and effectively, the government decided that state regulation had to go hand in hand with removing these vital services from state ownership.

How they work is by regulating price — in effect determining what the utilities can charge for the services and materials they provide. Being able to determine the revenue of the private sector companies they regulate gives the four men and their small staffs immense power over their commercial activities. Indeed, the power affects industry well beyond that, since the cost of power, water and communications is an important component of industry's overall costs and thus the prices charged to consumers.

Their price regulation is governed by statute, which delineates their powers. But they exercise those powers to a

## Spotlight on the men who decide if the price is right



Deep probing: Sir Bryan Carsberg has discomfited BT

considerable extent: all four are deeply involved not just in consumer protection or corporate efficiency but in the markets the utilities serve. Not all the regulators share a common view of their roles. Their differences of view reflect their differences of character. Foremost among them is Sir Bryan Carsberg. Now 52, he was the first to be appointed, back in 1984. An accountant, an academic experience, Sir Bryan's probing has reached deep into the innards of BT — to BT's considerable discomfort.

But he is sceptical of the argument that the power now held by the regulators could have been no real part of the

Conservative government's intentions. "There is something to that," he says, "but it's possible to become too impressed about the amount of power we have." But Sir Bryan has exercised that power in sometimes bitter and often public wrangles with BT. And James McKinnon has not shied away from an often combative stance with British Gas. Formerly Imperial Group's finance director, Mr McKinnon is a pragmatic Scot who is clear what he is there for. "My principal objective is to get fairness between supplier and customer."

He thinks the regulatory system provides "sufficient competition" for industries like gas, which may be un-

likely ever to be subject to real competition.

Stephen Littlechild of Ofreg seems at once the most engaged of the regulators — an economist at Birmingham University, he was centrally involved in drawing up the pricing formula subsequently adopted by all the regulators — and perhaps the most distant from the political reality of his work. He was sharply criticised, when electricity prices were set in April, for being concerned only with applying the price formula rather than the inflationary effect of the price rises.

At Ofwat, Ian Byatt has a rather different task to the other regulators. Water provision and disposal is unlikely to prompt much real competition. What Mr Byatt, formally a deputy chief economic adviser at the Treasury, has to do is ensure a renewal of resources in the industry, seeing it through its £26 billion, ten-year investment programme. To do that, he needs to ensure the water companies' long-term viability, in part through competitive pricing.

All four men will be at an Institute of Economic Affairs conference in London today to expand on their roles and how they see the regulatory system developing. They can claim successes. Forcing British Gas to yield some of its gas supplies, for instance. Refusing the high-end price bids of the electricity company. Preparing for radical changes in the way people pay for their water. Requiring BT to be more efficient, to change its pricing structure, and to improve greatly the standard of its public telephone boxes.

Probably all the regulators are genuinely convinced that the best mark of their work will be their own disappearance — that the best indicator of one of the privatised industries running well will be that it no longer needs a regulator.

As Sir Bryan puts it, "I sometimes tell people: 'I am going to tell you how to beat the regulator'. They all lean forward, wanting to know. And I tell them: 'The secret is to love the customer more than the regulator does'." Loving the customer may not quite have been the intention behind privatising the utilities. But if it is the outcome of the regulatory experiment in Britain, it will keep the customer satisfied.

PHILIP BASSETT

## Trafalgar looking to 1992

LAST December, Sir Nigel Brookes was given only occasional credit and subject to some ridicule in the City for maintaining the Trafalgar House final dividend when profits were tumbling and both housing and property markets were in a state of deep depression. As then suggested in *The Times*, it is the donations who had to rethink.

Trafalgar shares have outperformed the indices by 20 per cent since, as falling interest rates led the stock market up. The maintained interim dividend is an angry for the final as the group has decided to write off the current year as a bad job and look through to 1992-3. That leaves the shares, up 7p to 26p yesterday, resting on a 9.1 per cent dividend yield.

Meanwhile, half-year profits were not quite as awful as feared. As expected, property profits crumbled further from £65 million to £19 million despite a decision to treat some unsold developments as investment properties, which protects profits should any writedown be needed.

In the Gulf-hit leisure business, turnover shrank 14 per

cent and profits tumbled from £30 million to £7.6 million. At least a loss was avoided, however, mainly thanks to a lucrative ship charter for rest and recreation for American troops in the Gulf.

Construction profits, by contrast, rose a further £11 million to a record £38 million, almost entirely due to improved margins. Over six months, the order book expanded from £2.5 billion to £2.9 billion, mainly overseas.

In the second half, there will be no dramatic recovery but shipping profits should improve and the property side should be helped by the opportunist purchase and sale of a west London property. On likely minimum pre-tax profits of £115 million, earnings would be around 15p per share after higher tax, well short of the 18.4p dividend.

Recovery in property and leisure should boost profits in 1991-2 and beyond, despite softness in domestic construction, but there is much ground to make up before the group can resume dividend growth. The shares, which sell at 18

times likely earnings, therefore have some of the quality of a convertible preference share. After the rerating, they should not be chased unless yields keep falling.

### Tate & Lyle

TATE & Lyle believes that, with almost 35 per cent of Bundaberg, its bid target, in the hands of nervous arbitrageurs, it stands a good chance of winning the 90 per cent acceptance necessary to win a bid under Australian rules.

This confidence surfaced in remarks by Neil Shaw, the chairman, yesterday that the £150 million bid for the Queensland sugar miller was final, would not be increased and would result in a hunt for other acquisitions if not successful.

Bundaberg is strongly resisting, producing a valuation of £165 million, but suffering the disadvantage of a price persistently below the Aus\$4.10 (£1.86) bid and a recent halving of the world sugar price. The Australian Foreign Investment Review Board has

yet to rule on the bid but should do so in the next three weeks and Tate could extend the offer from its present close on May 17.

With ten years of good results behind it, Tate can afford to adopt a neutral posture to the Bundaberg defence. It has plenty of other ideas on how to escape from its wretched cane sugar quota and its failure to persuade the British authorities to allow a bid for British Sugar.

Sucralose, the newly developed sweetener, which contains no calories but is 600 times sweeter than ordinary sugar, has won approval in the Canadian market. In addition, Tate sees scope for further cost cuts in its basic British cane sugar business as it prepares for the challenge from British Sugar, now part of Associated British Foods.

Analysts expect just above £230 million from Tate for the year to September, against £218 million last time. All of which leaves the shares, at 374p and on a prospective multiple of no lower than 11.5, a firm hold.

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### Putting trust in Forte name

THE decision to change the name of Trusthouse Forte, the hotel group, to plain Forte, has left historians agast. For the Trust Houses in question grew out of a movement inspired by the fourth Earl Grey to raise the standard of English hostilities. The Trust Houses hotel group was founded in 1903 under the name of the Hertfordshire Public House Trust Company. The Trust Houses name followed, only to shrink again in 1970 after the merger with Forte Holdings. The result, Trusthouse Forte, was one of the largest hotel and catering groups in the world. In 1979, the group became Trusthouse Forte. Just before the merger, which later produced a ferocious boardroom battle between the Forte and Trust Houses camps, there were signs that the traditionalists were losing their confidence. Britons were startled by a Trust Houses advertise-

ment in 1970 that showed a bikini-clad girl performing a strip tease in a room filled with business executives. The caption read: "We can turn on the razzle-dazzle as well as anyone...What you tell your wife is your business."

### Monumental idea

MARTIN Burton, former head of trading at Citicorp



"Some of the names are calling us names."

Springeour Vickers, has bounced back, after a year out of the market, to launch Monument Derivatives, a company specialising in financial instruments. Burton, aged 37, is joined by Andy Ash, former head of derivatives at Credit Lyonnais Laing, Ash's colleague, Robert Green, and Jackie Tokley. Burton spent his formative years at Bigwood Bishop, the jobber. Pierson, the European group, and a consortium of UK institutions have each taken a 30 per cent stake in Monument. Burton explains the choice of name: "The Monument clouds the sun from our window."

### Wild side of life

STEPHEN Rumsey, managing director of BZW's fixed income division, is possibly the only City banker to run a full-scale wildlife reserve on top of his daily duties. Rumsey, a former partner of de Zoete, has built a wildlife sanctuary on his 300-acre farm near Hastings, East Sussex. "I've been trying to show

how easy it is to turn boring old cereal fields into high quality wildlife habitats," says Rumsey, who hopes the government will encourage similar projects. He also organised a five-month expedition to Senegal in West Africa to discover what British birds do in the winter. The expedition returned in February.

### Opera lament

COLIN Senior, an executive director of County NatWest and a legendary opera buff, has been advising the Super Pogo Consortium on plans to buy power stations in Portugal. Arriving in New York to wrap up the deal, he planned to visit the Metropolitan Opera House for a performance of Wagner's *Parsifal* starring Flavio Domingo and Jess Norman. As it happens, there was standing room only — in the customary hall at JFK airport where he was trapped with a planeload of Japanese tourists.

JON ASHWORTH

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No.	Company	Group	Code or Type
1	AS Pathology	Industrial E-K	
2	Fluoride C&W	Industrial E-K	
3	Under Walker	Paper, Print, Adv	
4	Rugby Group	Building, Roads	
5	Broken Hill	Industrial A-D	
6	Smith Whit A	Drugs, Stores	
7	Stapac	Industrial A-D	
8	Wessex Tanka	Building, Roads	
9	Carphix	Chemicals, Plastics	
10	Saint (I)	Building, Roads	
11	Whitman	Industrial E-K	
12	Toddler H	Industrial E-K	
13	BT	Electricals	
14	Fair Foods	Foodstuffs	
15	Mansfield	Breweries	
16	Welsh Water	Water	
17	EMC	Electricals	
18	Jerome Control	Oil, Gas	
19	Leeds	Hotels, Caterers	
20	P & O Ltd	Transport	
21	Sovereign Trust	Water	
22	Be Drilling	Building, Roads	
23	Urd Scientific	Electricals	
24	Orin Nicholson	Building, Roads	
25	Sainsbury J	Foodstuffs	
26	Central TV	Leisure	
27	Stapac	Industrial E-K	
28	Cohen (A)	Industrial A-D	
29	Kagfater	Drugs, Stores	
30	Howden	Industrial E-K	
31	Bodley Op	Building, Roads	
32	Yorkshire TV	Leisure	
33	McCarthy S S	Building, Roads	
34	Elara Water	Water	
35	Thames Water	Water	
36	Waco	Paper, Print, Adv	
37	Jardine Math	Industrial E-K	
38	Blawie Ltd	Industrial L-R	
39	Remcon	Paper, Print, Adv	
40	Rochdale	Property	
41	LASCO	Oil, Gas	
42	Normanston	Water	
43	Land Sec	Property	
44	Advent	Industrial A-D	

Please take into account any minus signs

Weekly Dividend						
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Sunday's newspaper.						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN

Four readers shared the £12,000 Portfolio Platinum prize yesterday. Mr David L. Thompson, of Stockport, Cheshire; Mrs L. Shelton, of Twickenham, west London; Mr John Higgins, of Bushey, Hertfordshire; and Mr Ralph Right, of Leamington, Warwickshire, each receive £3,000.

## BRITISH FUNDS

1990/91 High Low Range Price Change

SHORTS (Under Five Years)			
Company	High	Low	Range
AS Pathology	10.00	9.50	0.50
Fluoride C&W	10.00	9.50	0.50
Under Walker	10.00	9.50	0.50
Rugby Group	10.00	9.50	0.50
Broken Hill	10.00	9.50	0.50
Smith Whit A	10.00	9.50	0.50
Stapac	10.00	9.50	0.50
Wessex Tanka	10.00	9.50	0.50
Carphix	10.00	9.50	0.50
Saint (I)	10.00	9.50	0.50
Whitman	10.00	9.50	0.50
Toddler H	10.00	9.50	0.50
BT	10.00	9.50	0.50
Fair Foods	10.00	9.50	0.50
Mansfield	10.00	9.50	0.50
Welsh Water	10.00	9.50	0.50
EMC	10.00	9.50	0.50
Jerome Control	10.00	9.50	0.50
Leeds	10.00	9.50	0.50
P & O Ltd	10.00	9.50	0.50
Sovereign Trust	10.00	9.50	0.50
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Howden	10.00	9.50	0.50
Bodley Op	10.00	9.50	0.50
Yorkshire TV	10.00	9.50	0.50
McCarthy S S	10.00	9.50	0.50
Elara Water	10.00	9.50	0.50
Thames Water	10.00	9.50	0.50
Waco	10.00	9.50	0.50
Jardine Math	10.00	9.50	0.50
Blawie Ltd	10.00	9.50	0.50
Remcon	10.00	9.50	0.50
Rochdale	10.00	9.50	0.50
LASCO	10.00	9.50	0.50
Normanston	10.00	9.50	0.50
Land Sec	10.00	9.50	0.50
Advent	10.00	9.50	0.50

FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS			
Company	High	Low	Range
AS Pathology	10.00	9.50	0.50
Fluoride C&W	10.00	9.50	0.50
Under Walker	10.00	9.50	0.50
Rugby Group	10.00	9.50	0.50
Broken Hill	10.00	9.50	0.50
Smith Whit A	10.00	9.50	0.50
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Normanston	10.00	9.50	0.50
Land Sec	10.00	9.50	0.50
Advent	10.00	9.50	0.50

OVER FIFTEEN YEARS			
Company	High	Low	Range
AS Pathology	10.00	9.50	0.50
Fluoride C&W	10.00	9.50	0.50
Under Walker	10.00	9.50	0.50
Rugby Group	10.00	9.50	0.50
Broken Hill	10.00	9.50	0.50
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Normanston	10.00	9.50	0.50
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Advent	10.00	9.50	0.50

UNDATED			
Company	High	Low	Range
AS Pathology	10.00	9.50	0.50
Fluoride C&W	10.00	9.50	0.50
Under Walker	10.00	9.50	0.50
Rugby Group	10.00	9.50	0.50
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INDEX-LINKED			
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British researchers may have discovered the gardeners' dream: a way of increasing the yield of crops and flowers. Nigel Hawkes reports

# Red lettuce day for the greens

Jim Lynch is growing some prize lettuce in his laboratory at Littlehampton in West Sussex. He will not be entering them in the local flower and vegetable show because the prize he is after is a more substantial one: the discovery of a natural substitute for the chemicals in use today to control plant disease and stimulate growth.

Professor Lynch's experiments at Horticulture Research International, an institute of the Agriculture and Food Research Council, have demonstrated the remarkable ability of a fungus called *Trichoderma* to stimulate the growth of lettuce, marigolds and petunias.

The results - lettuce showing faster initial growth and greater eventual size - he admits, are "almost too good to be true". In more than 20 trials, one strain of *Trichoderma*, mixed with the compost in which the lettuce are grown, produced a 54 per cent increase in yield. A second strain has produced a rise of 100 per cent in yield in its first few trials.

The fungus has also advanced the time of flowering in petunias and doubled the size and weight of marigold flowers.

*Trichoderma* are microscopic fungi commonly found in soil. Unlike edible fungi, *Trichoderma* does not produce large fruiting bodies, and remains invisible except under the microscope. Strains of *Trichoderma* have been used to treat Dutch elm disease and control diseases on strawberries, so Professor Lynch and his colleagues decided to investigate their effect on the establishment and growth of lettuce.

The scientists produced large amounts of the fungus by growing it on a medium containing molasses, and mixed the resulting powdery material with compost in proportions of one to a hundred, and one to a thousand. Some strains of the fungus had no effect, or even reduced the number of seedlings emerging, but the best

strains used at the higher concentration promoted the early emergence of seedlings and increased the final size of the plants. The results of the experiments have been published in *Letters in Applied Microbiology*.

"We have repeated the experiment many times, and everybody who tries it makes it work," Professor Lynch says. "So far, however, we cannot be sure exactly what is happening."

He suggests three possible mechanisms. The *Trichoderma* may be producing a chemical that stimulates growth, although efforts to discover what it is have failed. A second possibility is that the fungus in some way enhances the uptake of nutrients present in the compost, and a third is that there are natural toxic substances in the compost which are detoxified by the fungus, allowing the plants a better start in life.

Professor Lynch favours this last possibility and has produced some evidence, so far unpublished, to back it. He believes that the *Trichoderma* fungus may have important uses outside plant growth, but cannot yet elaborate because he is discussing a possible licensing deal with a leading company.

The results so far, although they have yet to make the transfer from the laboratory to the field, are encouraging evidence that there may be a big future for biological control agents in agriculture.

Professor Lynch says: "Too many crop chemicals are being used, and the industry is under increasing pressure to reduce them. The use of biological agents could be much cheaper and environmentally more sound."

Before that happens, though, a wide-ranging research programme would have to establish not only that biological agents are effective but also that they are safe and have an adequate shelf-life.

If these hurdles can be overcome, the future looks bright for *Trichoderma*.



Salad days: Professor Jim Lynch says the results of experiments using a fungus to boost lettuce growth are "almost too good to be true"

A COMPUTER system to measure the human smile has been developed by researchers studying chronic pain, depression and Parkinson's disease.

Scientists believe the device, which measures key facial features when they have been recorded on videotape, could help doctors make better judgments about the mental state of patients. The device could also help psychiatrists to spot fleeting reactions during interviews and signs of improvement in those undergoing treatment.

The system, which can measure other expressions such as anger or surprise, could improve the quality of life of patients who have lost full control of facial muscles through disease or psychiatric disorders.

Research indicates that smiling is the most sought-after expression in relationships and is fundamental to healthy human communications. Sufferers from depression, Parkinson's and speech

## Learning how to laugh again

Scientists have devised a system that may teach smiling to those who have lost this vital skill



difficulties can, by failing to smile properly, aggravate their condition by alienating others. The system may help patients to learn how to form the happy expressions they have lost, say the scientists. The system has been developed by a team led by Lesy Pilowsky, visiting

professor at London university's institute of psychiatry, and professor of psychiatry at the Adelaide university, South Australia. Details of the research are to be delivered at the World Congress on Biological Psychiatry in Florence next month.

Attempts to understand the mind through the face have been made before, but some required electrodes to be attached to the face. The new system can be run by an unskilled operator, uses video rather than electrodes and creates cartoon-like images of patients.

At the heart of the system is a mathematical model of the human face, devised by Mark Thornton of the university's mathematics department. Using videotaped images of a subject's face, it creates computer-generated drawings based on measurements between iris, eyebrows and mouth.

Mary Katsikitis, a member of the team, says: "We end up with 12 computer-generated movement measures, which we now believe may tell us a great deal about a person's emotional state." Professor Pilowsky adds: "In smiling, it is mouth width, mouth opening and the distance between the corner of the mouth and the corner of the eye that are important."

NICK NUTTALL

## Leukaemia lifeline

LEUKAEMIA sufferers could have a shorter wait for life-saving bone marrow transplants, thanks to a new genetic fingerprinting technique that rapidly identifies suitable donors. The method, developed by Professor Ben Bradley and colleagues at the UK Transplant Centre at Bristol and reported in *The Lancet*, allows tissue samples from patients and donors to be matched within hours.

### Fossil clues

FOSSIL leaves up to ten million years old can be used to provide estimates of the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, research at Utrecht university has shown. Using fossil leaves of the sessile oak from German brown coal mines, Dutch studies reveal a link between carbon dioxide levels and the density of the mouth-like openings, or stomata, in the outer layer of the leaves. The researchers show that the ancient fluctuations of carbon dioxide are comparable to the changes caused by industry in the past 200 years.

### Southern eye

CAMBRIDGE university is cooperating with its Massachusetts namesake to build an optical telescope in Chile for the exclusive use of astronomers from Cambridge and Harvard universities. The Cambridge-Cambridge telescope project aims to raise about £14 million to build a four metre telescope to be located at Cerro Paranal in the Chilean Andes.

### Beating virus

THE PIONEER of the polio vaccine, Jonas Salk, believes that vaccines may never be able to prevent people being infected with HIV, but may be used to control its effects and allow people to lead normal lives. Dr Salk told a meeting of the American Federation for Clinical Research this week that he aims to produce a vaccine to reinvigorate the immune system's response to the infection so that it can contain the virus for longer, allowing carriers to live free of symptoms for many years.

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# The Euro message finds a capital audience

A week of business, sport and culture will establish Cardiff's place in the single European market, says Iola Smith in this special report

The people of Cardiff will be encouraged this week to increase their Euro-consciousness by more than 100 events from sports matches and concerts to business seminars and export clinics. The aim of "Europe Week", starting today, is to prepare the Welsh capital for the single market.

The idea was devised by Greg Byrne, the head of economic development, who is responsible for the city council's £100,000 involvement in the project, an investment that has been matched, pound for pound, by the private sector. Mr Byrne is convinced that the week will lead to new contracts for local companies and will enhance the reputation of Cardiff abroad.

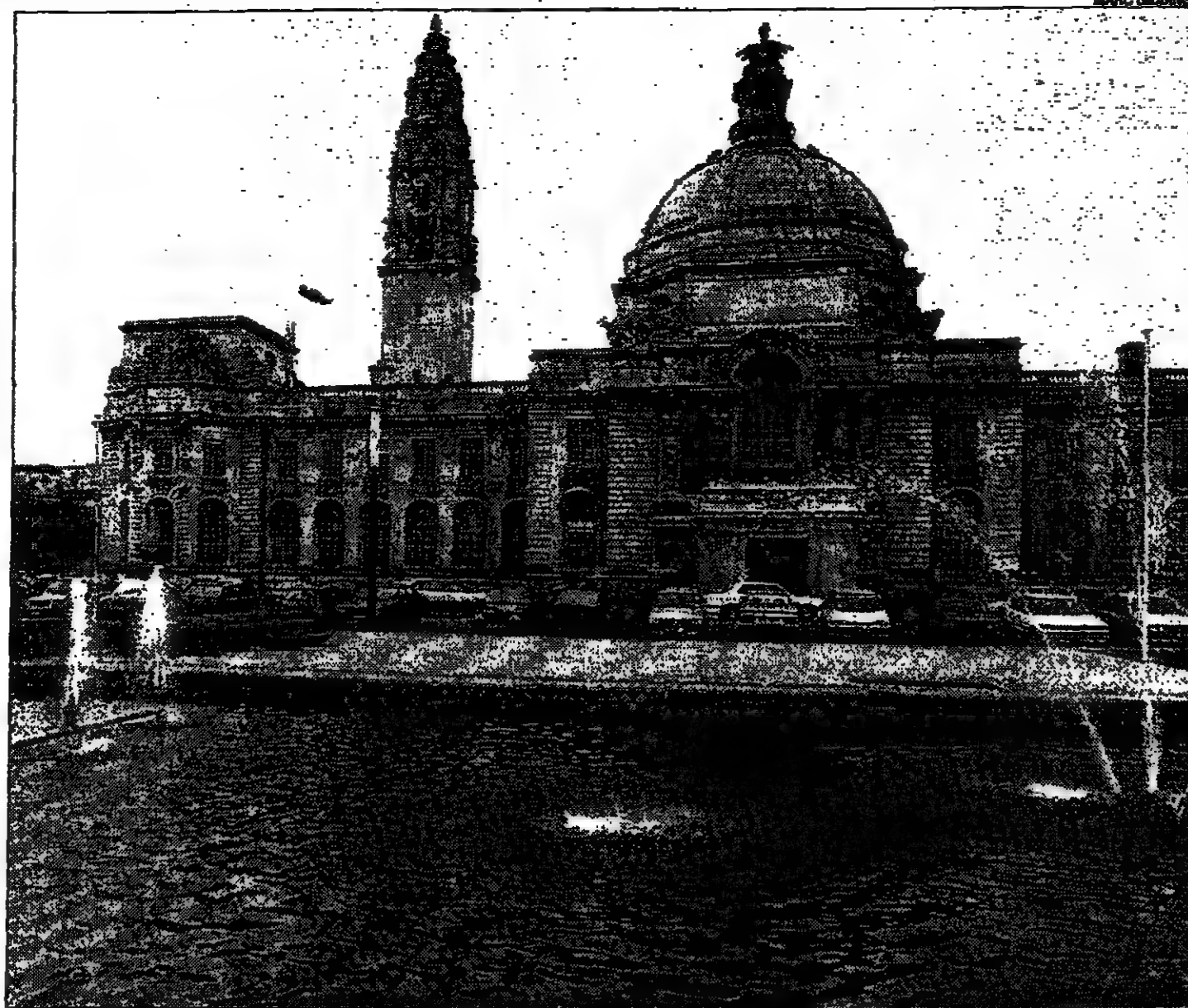
"The week is an extension of last year's Europartnership, which promoted business links across the European Community," he says. "But by involving the entire population, it takes the European message to a far wider audience."

"Schoolchildren need to know about Europe's languages and culture, while consumers want information on continental cuisine and fashion trends."

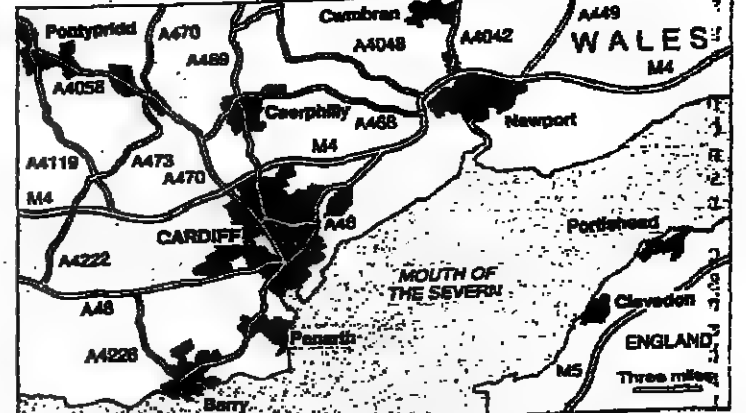
"Most of all, however, we want to reach those small firms and self-employed people who never thought that they would be affected by the single market. They will be affected, either by the changing legislation or by new marketing opportunities. If they do not prepare now, there is a danger that they could go under."

To convince them of this, seminars, export clinics and a trade fair have been organised by Clarissa Todd, the city's marketing specialist.

"Small firms that have never exported before will be introduced to continental buyers from a range of French, German and Italian companies," she says. "A German



City of dignity: Cardiff's City Hall and its war memorial (right) are among the architectural attractions of the capital, whose council has contributed £100,000 to make the single market a reality to its citizens





The national TV channel has boosted exports and turned the city into a media centre

More than 10,000 people in Cardiff were shown by the last census in 1981 to be Welsh-speakers, and many Welsh-language organisations are based in the city.

"Since then," says David Hunt, the Welsh secretary, "there has been considerable growth in the number of people who choose to send their children to Welsh-medium schools."

"Cardiff also hosts the headquarters of S4C, the Welsh-language television channel, which has spearheaded the city's development into one of the UK's largest media centres, with 200 media companies employing more than 6,000 people."

The channel has similarly brought in substantial new investment because it undertakes a range of international joint ventures. "Last month, for example, we signed a £3.5 million deal to animate Shakespeare's plays," says Ann Beynon, an S4C spokeswoman.

"The half-hour films will be made by Soyuzmultfilm in Moscow, with the finance provided by an American cable channel, Fuji of Japan, BBC Wales, and S4C."

"Six plays, including *Hamlet* and *The Tempest*, will be animated this year, and already, before production begins, we have sold them in Scandinavia, France and Germany. The dialogue will be available in six languages: Welsh, English, French, German, Japanese and Russian. Educational materials will accompany the film, and our hope is that they

## The fine art of making culture pay

will encourage people to read Shakespeare's plays."

The Prince of Wales should be delighted, particularly as he is working with the channel on an animated version of his children's story, *The Old Man of Lochmager*. The film is being produced in English, Welsh and Gaelic with Scottish Television, and will be shown in Britain at Christmas 1992. The Prince is writing the script, and is considering presenting the English version. Collaboration with Scottish Television extends to language teaching.

"S4C's Welsh course, *Now You're Talking*, has been adopted by the Scots as a model for its Gaelic learner series," Miss Beynon says. "Two series are being made for European consumption in 1992. *Credo*, a set of religious programmes looking at the faiths of Europe, is being prepared with Swedish and Irish television. *Borderlands*, a series

developed in association with Italian and Polish television companies, investigates the regions of Europe that cross frontiers, such as Saarland and Lorraine."

The channel is participating in a European Community-funded television producers' training course, and expects to increase its earnings substantially from joint ventures, which at present make an annual £700,000 profit.

The Welsh cultural company most familiar to Europeans is the Welsh National Opera (WNO), which last year performed in La Scala, Milan, the Metropolitan Opera, New York, and in Tokyo.

"We take our role as ambassadors for Wales very seriously," says Brian McMaster, the general manager, "and we are delighted that our American and Japanese visits led to two new factories coming to Wales."

Stuttgart and Catalonia are new

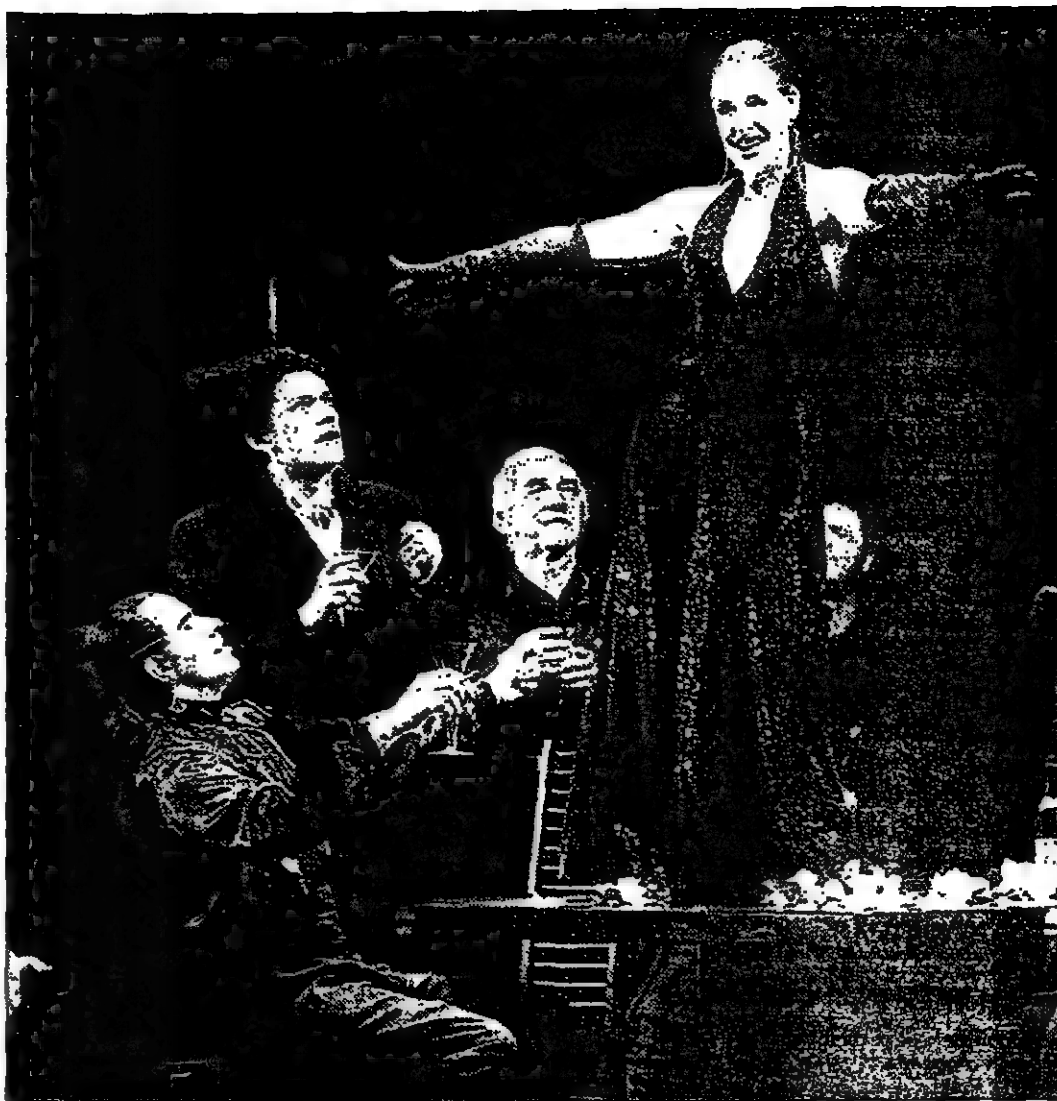
potential venues. In addition, the company is preparing for its Paris debut. Next spring, it will perform Peter Stein's version of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Châtelet theatre in Paris.

The WNO sets and costumes are familiar to audiences, as they are sold to opera houses across the world. The set for *Tosca* is in Adelaide, for example, *La Bohème* is in Malaga and *The Marriage of Figaro* in Nice.

The Cardiff Bay Art Trust is bringing the works of international artists to Wales. The trust, established this year to bring public works of art to the bay area, has already commissioned a sculpture by Pierre Vivent, the French artist, to be placed at the eastern gateway.

"Although we have received £180,000 from the development corporation to acquire new works, most of the finance for the bay's art strategy comes from the private sector," says Sally Medlyn, the trust's director. "Every company developing on corporation land must spend at least 1 per cent of the capital cost on works of art. Companies that develop on their own land are also being encouraged to finance new works. Some have already volunteered to do so, including Bradnam and Bailey, which is providing a £22,000 bronze sculpture, called *Atlantic*, by Doug Cockor."

Miss Medlyn expects artists to work in residence with developers, and to create tapestries and paintings for exhibition in the new buildings. A paintings library is planned to enable companies to borrow new works by local artists.



Singing for Wales: Susan Patterson in the Welsh National Opera's production of *La traviata*

## World's leading financiers look to Wales

A predicted growth of Welsh industry has attracted big investments

Few people were employed in financial services in Wales during the early Eighties. In 1988, however, the Welsh Office and the Welsh Development Agency launched the Financial Services Initiative (FSI), and now there are more than 50 finance businesses in the Cardiff area, employing 75,000 people.

"The initiative is a tremendous success, benefiting the entire Welsh economy," David Hunt, the Welsh secretary, says. "Cardiff is becoming one of the top financial centres in the UK, an ideal city in which to do business in banking, broking or insurance. A city that can boast one of only two Rothschild's offices in the UK outside London will inevitably attract attention."

Businesses such as N.M. Rothschild established themselves in Cardiff because they realised the city's potential, says Glynnis Clay, the managing director of the bank's Welsh branch.

"Cardiff Bay and the Valleys Initiative convinced us that Wales was the region with the most scope in the UK," Mr Clay says. "Rothschild's is not a short-term merchant. We are interested only in regions with long-term prosperity. Despite the recession, which is less severe in Wales than elsewhere, Cardiff has lived up to our expectations. And we feel that as Welsh industry expands during the Nineties, there will be even more call for our services."

That vote of confidence is endorsed by enterprises as diverse as National Provident Institution, the insurance company, and two banks, Chartered Trust and TSB.

The message is also filtering through to the City of London. "Four years ago fewer than 10 per cent of financiers would consider relocating their businesses to Cardiff. Now 50 per cent would be willing to do so," says Phil Morgan, the consultant who heads the FSI. "Companies wanting to expand to greenfield sites, or those wishing to reduce their overheads by paying rents of £14 a square foot for their offices, instead of £62.50 in London, are seriously considering Wales."

The Welsh Development Agency is also attracting more continental companies. "We already have investment houses such as Société Générale, the mortgage-lending arm of Banque Nationale de Paris, and the UK headquarters of the French insurance firm Axa," says Chris Sheehan, the FSI manager. "The German insurance company DAS has relocated its claims settlements division ten miles north of Cardiff, and we are confident at least two more continental firms will move in this year."

The French are already investors in the second Severn

crossing, and are expected to become more involved in the British insurance market after 1992. The Welsh Development Agency hopes they will choose Wales to establish their administrative centres for the whole of Britain.

To whet their appetite, a Europe Week seminar will be held in Cardiff today for 200 continental financiers. They will be urged by Mr Hunt and Dr Gwyn Jones, the chairman of the Welsh Development Agency, to bring their businesses to South Wales. They will find that many of the support services, such as law firms, accountancy practices and recruitment consultants, are already in place.

Bledwyn Rees, a partner at Morgan Bruce, the solicitors, says: "Large regional practices are actively challenging City of London law firms because they provide similar services for substantially less cost. 'We regularly advise financial institutions on mergers, acquisitions, copyright and European law, for example. As part of Europe Week, we have invited our Belgian associates to address a seminar on the single market.'"

The Welsh Development Agency is convinced that Wales can supply the high-calibre work-force required to attract international businesses. John McManus, TSB's

personnel manager, says: "The quality of applicants has exceeded all expectations." The increasing number of women expected to enter the workplace in Wales in the Nineties will provide a further pool of potential staff. Against this background, Cardiff's finance companies are expanding. The Bank of Wales has moved to a new headquarters in the city centre, and the Principality building society, which has been in the city since 1860, is building new headquarters.

Willis Carroon, the insurance broker, has also opened new premises in Cardiff Bay, the district where it began maritime insurance brokerage in 1911. At that time it specialised in coal and steel.

Now, following the Welsh economy's diversification and obvious success in attracting investment from overseas, the company's main clients are Japanese-owned manufacturing businesses.

Mr Morgan is optimistic about the future of financial services in Wales. "The sector will be employing more than 100,000 people by the end of the decade and, as well as having numerous continental firms, we will also host Japanese banks," he says.

"Japanese banks tend to follow their country's manufacturing companies into new areas. As Wales is Japan's leading manufacturing region in Europe, we expect the banks will begin to make their presence felt in Cardiff within the next two years."

## DISCOVER THE ESSENTIALS OF SUCCESS IN WALES

Whether your company is relocating, expanding, or simply looking for the optimum site to

start up a new business, it pays to take a good look at Wales.

That's because, in comparison with the UK as a whole, Wales offers a healthy industrial and

commercial economy, plus the essentials of a successful enterprise culture.

Essentials such as a large, productive and above all, high quality workforce.

Such as Wales' success rate in attracting inward investment - approximately 20% of the UK

total, and this from hi-tech, blue chip companies such as Ford, Bosch and Sony.

Or such as the encouraging level of indigenous investment, matched with a reassuringly high

survival rate for new businesses.

And Wales offers yet another essential advantage, Welsh Development International - an

expert, influential organisation, whose role is to help companies such as yours derive

maximum benefit from the opportunities in Wales.

As a division of the Welsh Development Agency we're ideally placed to give you all the

assistance and advice you need for a successful future in Wales.

For further information please write to: Welsh Development International, Welsh Development

Agency, Pearl House, Greyfriars Road, Cardiff. CF1 3XK or telephone Cardiff (0222) 223666.



WELSH DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL

Welsh Development International is a division of the Welsh Development Agency.

